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HADRIAN

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(*from Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli*)

THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

A.D. 76-138

BY

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY BROTHER ERIC

SECOND LIEUTENANT SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT

KILLED IN ACTION ON THE WESTERN FRONT

AT DELVILLE WOOD

AUGUST, 1916

PREFACE

THIS book was begun some fifteen years ago at the suggestion of the late Professor H. F. Pelham, Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford and our Master in Roman History. It has taken long to complete through the usual claims upon the time of a College Tutor and by reason of manifold and strange duties which fell upon the writer during the years of the war, when it was laid aside. Since it was resumed in the summer of 1919 other writings and illness have still further delayed its completion.

If at times I seem to have spoken in this book somewhat pontifically upon questions which remain subjects of dispute, my apologia must be that I am now too old to refrain from giving my real opinions. I hope that the references will enable those who are younger to challenge these if they see reason for dissent. The various verse renderings in the text are my own unless otherwise stated.

I owe great thanks to my colleague, Mr. G. C. Cheshire, Fellow of Exeter College, for reading through Chapter XII. in MS. and making valuable suggestions upon it; also to Mr. R. G. Collingwood, Fellow of Pembroke College, for similar help upon Chapter X. The latter has added to my obligations by allowing me to add a "Note" at the end of the chapter from his own pen upon the subject in which he is now our recognized Oxford expert.

In two previous books I have treated at some length

the period of Roman History which is covered by the Life of the Emperor Nero and the events of the Civil Wars and other disturbances which followed upon the death of that Prince. If I carry out my plan of a fourth narrative history, giving a more succinct sketch of Rome under the Flavian Emperors, Nerva, and Trajan—which is largely written—to fill the gap between my earlier books and the present one, I shall have handled nearly a century of early Roman Imperial History, and that is likely to be enough for any man to-day.

BERNARD W. HENDERSON

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD
April, 1923

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PROLOGUE

THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

PROLOGUE

WE realize at last that there are two kinds of "Pacificist". The one cries out for peace when there cannot be peace, and ought not, in this imperfect world, to be peace. The other is he who restores, promotes, and organizes peace after long war.

For the first type there is little room in this crowded work-a-day world. Of the second, men who earn well of their generation, three Roman Emperors are good examples. These are Augustus, Vespasian, and Hadrian.

All three were sane, level-headed, sagacious, and among the least "enthusiastic" of mankind. And by reason of these qualities of mind, all three were notable servants of Imperial Rome, the Titan State.

Hadrian however combined with these qualities of calm insight into public needs and unsparing toil on behalf of public welfare other more curious characteristics. In him there were other desires, half hidden; other interests from time to time displayed; half-lights of belief; exotic tastes half-revealed. His personality baffled the inquisitive. If honoured, he was also feared. Himself affectionate, yet through reticence he rarely won affection in return. He was tolerant, as one who knows that in men's mere beliefs nothing greatly matters; patient, when their actions showed some folly of belief. Yet men thought that he was kind only because he dared not to be cruel.

He was a disciplinarian without pedantry, a humanist without exaggeration. His devotion to art and to literature was sincere; but to it he never sacrificed a sense of Imperial dignity. Some sense of humour, of which he possessed a sufficiency, saved him from this error of a Claudius or a Nero. He pursued a lonely way through a troublesome world always with a somewhat enigmatic smile lurking about his lips, and at the last, racked though he was by persistent and relentless pain, he challenged half-protestingly the dark riddle of death with a gentle mockery and wonder which left no room for anger or for fear.

Like Augustus, he was an organizer, but under far easier circumstances; like Vespasian thrifty and careful of finance, though the greater wealth of the Treasury in his day allowed him ampler scope for generosity. So well did he deserve of Rome that the happy age which followed his departing came as some quiet tide flowing in imperceptibly, yet certain and unhindered. And the generations which came after him paid him but scanty thanks without whose tireless energy their happiness had never been.

After four years of war there were, on Hadrian's accession, three things which mattered intensely—peace, organization, and the children.

Peace meant, not only the restoration of present, but also security for future peace. There would still be foes in years to come. Perils always threatened on the frontiers of the Empire. How long new storms of war could be averted, how harmlessly they could be made to pass away if and when they broke,—this depended on the measures taken now when peace had been restored. This was no time for sitting with folded hands, nor for indulging in extravagances as if the new-won peace should be perpetual. It was never a Roman who cherished the belief in the war which ended War.

Organization spelt financial recuperation, an ordered government whose commands should be enforced, and some measure of army and of law reform. What then is a well-ordered State but one which makes use of every class in the community for its public service, and in such ways as those which suit diverse capacities the best, the while each man does his work without jealousy of his neighbour? It was by failing to realize and achieve this end that the Roman Republic, greatest of all States in the deeds of war, had come to irredeemable and deserved ruin by bitter civil strife.

And the children?

An epigrammatist lately remarked that "a nation that cannot afford education cannot afford children". A thousand years of Rome's history makes mock of this dictum within the limits of the meaning of the term "education" which the maker of the epigram alone would recognize. No education specifically as such was ever given by the Roman State to her children. It was not here that weakness threatened her. So wholly dissimilar in this respect was ancient Rome, Republican and Imperial, from the modern State that lack of numbers and not the upbringing of the children in matters intellectual was her great concern. No "vital statistics" exist for the Roman Empire. But it is unlikely that Trajan's wars, though toilsome and long protracted, had seriously taxed all the human resources of that Empire. Nor

was there as a consequence in the Empire that vast preponderance of women which seems to defeat nature's own purposes. Yet all was not well with Roman Italy, fertile as ever in soil, too niggardly, alas, of children. It were poor statecraft to let the home land grow feeble and poverty-stricken for lack of these or for their evil sustenance, and to rely for re-invigoration always on the outlying members of the far-flung Empire.

When Trajan's wars were ended with his death, Rome needed in his place a man untiring, wise, broad-minded, humane. Was the new ruler one able to understand her needs? It was a vital question for Rome in the early part of the second century of our era. Given the right man, his authority would not be lightly questioned by people, by senators, or by army. The principle of obedience to authority, though shaken by weak or bloodthirsty princes, was always dear to the Latin's heart. Trajan had at least knit again closely what Domitian had loosened, the ties which bound the subjects closely in loyalty to the Emperor. What use would Hadrian make of his authority?

Outside the barriers of the Empire lay the barbarian, unquiet, greedy, warlike, and the Oriental foe, jealous, insidious. Would the new Prince have regard to Rome's defences, her armies, her forts, her very barricades?

Within the frontiers thought was restless. Old religions, old beliefs, old ceremonial rites and worships were sapped alike by scepticism and by new mystic fervour. Philosophies of duty fought, it might seem, a losing battle with philosophies of indifference; Christianity was still aflame, ready to challenge, eager to defy, glorying in martyrdom, quarrelsome, provocative, yet craving peace.

What was the ruler's duty? Some times demand an eager partisanship. Others may indulge the homely maxim "Live and let live". Then the propaganda of enthusiasm may be left to the people. If the Government adopt it, what results but the fatal zeal of a Julian, a Philip of Spain, a Laud? The wise ruler must trust the inherent righteousness or reasonableness of things that that system will at last be victorious whose victory answers to the needs of the age. He will keep the lists and not himself descend to the thirsty arena of religious or of philosophic strife. Is he to risk his own immortal soul by such impartiality? Hadrian at least might smile at the troubled questioner, have thought him bigoted, fanatical:

Animula vagula blandula
. . . . . .
Quae nunc abibis in loca
. . . . . .
Nec ut soles dabis jocos?

CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

§ 1. Hadrian's birth and descent.
§ 2. Hadrian and Italica.
§ 3. Hadrian's early years and tastes.
§ 4. Hadrian's hunting.
§ 5. The first few years of military training.
§ 6. Hadrian's marriage.

CHAPTER I

§ 1. Hadrian's Birth and Descent

"PUBLIUS AELIUS HADRIANUS, son of Publius, of the Sergian Tribe," Emperor of Rome A.D. 117-138, was by birth a fellow-townsman of Trajan, who was his cousin and Emperor immediately before him. To one small insignificant Spanish township belongs the distinction of providing the first two Roman Emperors who were by birth non-Italian and a third in later ages, Theodosius the Great.

Nearly three centuries before Hadrian's birth in A.D. 76, Scipio, the most successful of all the Roman generals in the Second Punic War, before that weary war had reached its victorious ending, had founded a settlement for veterans of his army upon the banks of the river Baetis (the Guadalquivir) in the district called Baetica in southern Spain. This grant of lands in a distant country overseas from Italy was a new departure in Roman Colonial history. The general's plan shows both Scipio's care for his troops and his boldness in experiment. The war-worn soldiers, thus settled in an alien and a dangerous land, built themselves a city to dwell in, which became known as "The Italian town," Italica. It preserved this name for many centuries, and its site is called to this day "The fields of Talca". But very many years ago the great river betrayed its trust. Changing its course, the Guadalquivir drove the inhabitants of the older town to migrate six miles downstream, where "Hispalis" received them. Thus Seville began its more renowned career.

One of the original soldier settlers at Italica at the end of the third century B.C. was ancestor of Hadrian the Emperor. But the family traced both its origin and its name back still earlier to an Italian source. In Picenum, that strip of coast and mountain on the eastern shore of Italy down which runs to-day the great trunk railway line from Faenza and Rimini towards Brindisi, lay in ancient days a little town, Hadria by name, bearing the title of the stormy Adriatic sea. How could Hadrian's family have come from any other place? It was indeed a worthy "patria" even for an Emperor-to-be. The folk of Picenum were a hardy vigorous stock of native Italian origin with some intermixture of immigrant Gallic blood. Hadria, like the other cities of the district, had in due course been incorporated into

full membership of the Roman State. It was the Emperor Hadrian himself who in his Autobiography, one of the lost works of antiquity, proudly told the tale of his family's origin from Picenum and of his own far-off soldier ancestor who " settled at Italica in the days of the Scipios ".

But the first recorded incident in the family history was the migration to Spain, and it was Roman Spain which became to Hadrian veritably his " fatherland," his " patria ". One untrustworthy tale calls Rome his birthplace. If this, either in contemporary or in later times, was due to flattery, there was small need for such an effort. The famous " secret of the Empire," that Princes could be made elsewhere than at Rome, had been revealed already before the date of Hadrian's birth. Galba had been proclaimed Emperor in Spain ; Trajan was born in that same country. That Hadrian himself was of pure Italian blood is quite unlikely. To what extent the old colonists of Italica intermarried with native Spanish women there is no kind of evidence to show. The centuries of life in the small city down in the fertile river valley may have seen many a curious romance and an intermixture of blood which did no hurt to the old bourgeois Italian stock. The descendants of the original colonists may well have jealously preserved the remembrance of their origin none the less. In such family records it is the man who counts. The woman and her origin matter less.

Hadrian's grandfather, Aelius Hadrianus Marillenus, had been the first of the family to attain the dignity of Senatorial rank. He had married Ulpia, sister of Marcus Ulpius Trajanus the father of the Emperor Trajan. Their son was Publius Aelius Hadrianus Afer. No reason is given for this nickname of " The African ". He married a lady who, though herself born at Gades (Cadiz), on the coast sixty miles to the south of the husband's city Italica, bore the fine old Roman names of Domitia Paulina. To these two there was born at Italica on January 24, A.D. 76, when Vespasian was Emperor at Rome, a son who received his father's names, Publius Aelius Hadrianus, himself the future Emperor.[1] His cousin, Trajan, was older than he by 22 years.[2]

[1] Authorities for the Section : *Vita* chapter 1. Hadrian's birthplace Italica according to Appian, Iber. 38 ; Dio 69, 1, 1 ; Gellius 16, 13, 4 ; Eutropius 8, 6, 1 ; Eusebius, Chron. II, p. 165. This is accepted e.g. by Klebs ap. Prosop. Imp. Rom. ; Kornemann pp. 7-11 ; P.-W. etc. His birthplace Rome acc. to the *Vita* 1, 3. This is accepted e.g. by Schiller p. 602, Gregorovius, Schulz, etc. But the *Vita* contradicts itself (cf. 1, 3 with 2, 1, and 19, 1). And the substitution of " Romae " for " Italicae " is more likely than *vice versâ*. Kornemann who handles the question very decisively thinks the former substitution may have been the work of the supposed " Theodosian redactor " (cf. Appendix A on the *Vita*).

Here and throughout this book references to Spartianus' biography of Hadrian in the Augustan History are given as *Vita*. Others to modern authors cite the name only. The full title of their works is given in the general Bibliography at the end.

[2] Trajan, born Sept. 18, A.D. 53 ; died Aug. 8, A.D. 117. For the relationship of the two families see the Genealogical Table.

§ 2. Hadrian and Italica

There seems hardly to have been a town in the world of the Roman Empire which has not left on record its pride in its own conspicuous citizens. Among the engraved relics of Roman antiquity, those inscriptions which fill so many massive volumes in the historian's library, there are innumerable tributes paid by local communities to their distinguished sons. This is a gracious aspect of Roman public life. Such recognition of merit fostered local patriotism and stimulated the sense of social service. For in case of need the citizen thus honoured publicly was expected always to come to his town's help as occasion might be. Local ties bound even the greatest in the Empire. When the scanty records preserved to us tell so little concerning Hadrian, one tale of Italica's appeal to him for honour, the appeal of his small birthplace to her son, now Emperor of Rome, entices to a digression.

In those distant days when Republican Rome was first fighting for the overlordship of Italy before she reached out beyond Italian frontiers to achieve the conquest of the known world, there was one method in chief by which the Republic won not only her friends but even in due course of time her very foes to champion her cause. This method was the grant of her own citizenship to entire communities hitherto independent of her. In technical language, Rome created " Municipia " by bestowing her own rights of franchise in whole, or, more commonly at first, in part, upon those who hitherto had been aliens. In this way towns almost without number became " municipia," and grew proud of the title and enamoured of a political status which they had at first been compelled by the dominant city reluctantly to accept. A " Colony " was different. This name was reserved for a community of settlers sent out from and by Rome. Of the two titles, the " Municipium " for many a long year ranked more highly in men's esteem than did the Colony.

Presently, with the extension and growth of Rome's power and influence in the lands surrounding the Mediterranean, " municipia " began to be found outside the peninsula of Italy to which at first they had been confined. So in due course it befel that the small city of Italica in southern Spain, though indubitably colonial in origin, asked for and obtained the title of a municipium, perhaps at the Emperor Augustus' hands, perhaps, still earlier, from Julius Caesar.

But fashions change, often for no logical or intelligible reason. In the early Empire some undiscoverable sentiment won the greater favour for the title Colony again.[1] Possibly municipia

[1] The " Jus Italicum " might carry with it more material, i.e. financial and legal, advantages. It is, however, hard to maintain that a Colony ipso facto possessed this " jus ". Hadrian treated the matter, so far as can be seen, as one of sentiment only.

had multiplied too rapidly. The time was fast approaching when this latter name was appropriated by any and every country town which enjoyed its local scheme of self-government fashioned upon a stereotyped model. Then the few cities which could call themselves Colonies seemed to boast a distinction from the common mass which flattered local sentiment. An English " City " might to-day wax indignant if called by ignorant visitors or unthinking journalists a " town ".

Hardly a century had passed since Spanish Italica had been delighted to acquire the title of municipium. Now the municipality began to fret by reason of this very name.

There was indeed a special local reason for this discontent. The city lay in the Roman province of Baetica. Upon this province as a whole the Emperor Vespasian had recently bestowed a body of political rights known technically as the " Latin franchise ". Town after town within the province had in consequence applied for and received charters of incorporation as " Latin Municipia ". The epithet " Latin " as distinct from " Roman " was coming to mean less and less. Italica, the proud little city of ancient Roman origin, found herself amid a whole host of new upstart communities claiming the same rank and title as herself. This was intolerable. Surely the City Fathers might rely upon their great fellow-townsman's sympathy. Italica petitioned for leave to call herself a Colony.

Such an appeal from a town in Baetica came for hearing before the Roman Senate. But the decisions of this Body were now always fashioned after the Emperor's will if he chose to declare it. Hadrian seized the chance for a display of erudition worthy of the old antiquarian Emperor Claudius himself. He delivered to the attentive Conscript Fathers a pedantic discourse in the spirit of a pedagogue. Praeneste, he urged, that ancient city of Latium, had but a century earlier asked of the Emperor Tiberius a boon, which he had granted in gratitude for his recovery from a dangerous illness within the city's walls. That boon was the change to " municipal " from " colonial " status. Yet now Italica made exactly the opposite request. Her example was being followed by other municipia. Utica was asking for the same change of title. The orator marvelled at the ignorance manifested by these towns. Such was the substance of this " most learned " Imperial harangue to the Senate of Rome.

Much grave comment might be written upon the whole incident. It might be cited to illustrate the Emperor's concern for the remotest of Rome's citizens, or again as illuminative of the triviality of the affairs which now absorbed the interest of Roman Senators, or, once more, as exhibiting the learning and attention to detail required of a worthy Prince. Such and kindred reflec-

tions resemble an inverted pyramid based upon a pin-point, the amour propre of an insignificant provincial town. Yet why should Hadrian have treated its request so seriously? Was it in relaxation from the genuine cares of office? Doubtless it is difficult for any absolute monarch to possess a sense of humour. From this lack have come many evils to the world. For this sense a feeling of the pettiness of things, himself included, is desirable. Among all the Roman Emperors only the shrewd old Sabine farmer Vespasian displays veritable humour. It is doubtful whether this virtue now prevailed in Hadrian's complex character. Possibly Italica's appeal did actually offend against his historic sense. Possibly he had better reasons for misliking it. He may have thought it undesirable to allow the older towns of the province to emphasize by a change of title their superiority over the communities which had newly received Vespasian's gift. Such "class" distinctions might now be invidious and harmful. If this really were the thought at the back of the Emperor's mind, it was no small ingenuity in him to blame the older foundations for just that lack of historical feeling which in reality had prompted their very petition.

Yet local sensitiveness may at all times ask for sympathy, in spite of the absence in it of proportion or of humour. In the course of his travels in the west Hadrian came presently to Spain, and spent a winter there at Tarraco. He did not revisit his own birthplace.[1] Surely it was by way of consolation to his townsfolk's wounded feelings of neglect that now at last he gave to them their hearts' desire, the title of Colony for their town. To this he may also have added the proud name of Ulpia after his kinsman Trajan's own family name. For as Colonia Ulpia Italicensium the town seems presently to be known.[2] So enduring was then the force of sentiment in local government which induced a Roman Emperor to stultify his own display of learning.[3]

§ 3. Hadrian's Early Years and Tastes

In Hadrian's tenth year his father died. Nothing more is heard of the boy's mother. He had one sister, called after the

[1] Dio 69, 10, 1. For the journey to Spain see below, chap. v, § 2.

[2] C.I.L. II, 1135. Cf. Hübner ap. C.I.L. II, p. 146. Unluckily the V of the inscription, which Mommsen renders Ulpia, may stand equally well for Victrix, and the latter is preferred by Hübner. Nor is there any indication that the inscription is of Hadrian's time. It may be later.

[3] The whole tale of Italica's petition is given in Gellius, N.A. xvi, 14, 4-5. Cf. Hübner ap. C.I.L. II, p. 146; Reid, "Municipalities," pp. 135-136; Stuart Jones, "Companion to Roman History," p. 23.

mother's name Domitia Paulina, who may have been older than her brother as she married earlier than he.[1]

At the time of the father's death, in A.D. 85, Hadrian's cousin Trajan was pursuing the usual course of public life appropriate to a Senator. He found promotion, however, rather slow. He had already, in A.D. 84, been praetor, but he had to wait seven years before attaining to the chief dignity of the Senatorial career, the consulship. In the interval he was placed in command of one of the two legions in Spain,[2] and may have been in the country at the time of the death of the elder Hadrian. For when this happened Trajan assumed the legal guardianship of his young cousin, sharing its responsibilities with a Roman knight, Acilius Attianus by name, who was also a citizen of Italica.[3]

Of the two guardians Attianus was the more active in the care of their ward. Trajan presently left Spain for service on the Rhine and for some years could pay little heed to the boy. But Attianus was a good friend to Hadrian for more than thirty following years. In the year of Trajan's death the older man was Prefect of the Praetorian Guard and, as will be seen, did much to secure the succession to Hadrian. Nor was the latter ungrateful. Roman gossip, always malignant and worthless, whispered that the new Prince was jealous of his Prefect. Did thirty-two years of devotion with one crowning service at the end of it count for nothing? When Attianus resigned his Prefecture, Hadrian heaped high honours on his old guardian, granting him the decorations of a consular and a seat in the Senate. This, as he himself truly said, was the greatest honour which he had it in his power to bestow.

From Italica Attianus presently took his young ward to Rome. There only could the boy receive his fitting education. Hadrian stayed in the city until his fifteenth birthday was past, and it was these few years which coloured the whole of his life hereafter. A "literary education" which ends by fifteen is not wholly wasted on an enthusiastic boy who is willing and eager to work.

For Hadrian, now first introduced to the study of Greek literature, became inspired by a passion for "the legacy of Greece" which never deserted him to his life's end. Nicknamed by his boy comrades for this enthusiasm "Hadrian the Greekling,"

[1] C.I.L. X, 6220; Dio 69, 11, 4. Her husband was L. Julius Ursus Servianus, for whose connection with the history of Hadrian see below, chap. xv, § 1.

[2] I Adjutrix and VII Gemina.

[3] Attianus: "Caelius" acc. to the MSS. of the *Vita*, but "Acilius" acc. to a newly discovered inscription of 1903. Cf. Kornemann ap. "Klio," V, p. 291. For the account of the relations between Attianus and Hadrian the *Vita* is our only authority. Cf. 1, 4; 5, 5; 8, 7; 9, 3, 4, 6; 15, 2. Klebs ap. Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, p. 96 makes Attianus already Praetorian Prefect under Trajan, and the *Vita*, though not directly asserting this, makes it probable.

the lad grew up in very truth a "Hellenist". His youthful devotion to Greek studies ripened and matured in the man of affairs, and bore rich fruit in one who became the most cultured and cosmopolitan of the Roman Emperors. Before Hadrian, Greek art, Greek music, Greek drama, had claimed their somewhat pathetic devotee in Nero. After Hadrian, Greek philosophy found in Marcus Aurelius its greatest Roman pupil, Greek religion its last despairing worshipper in Julian. But no Roman ever drank more deeply of that Hellenic culture which expresses itself in refinement of taste and insatiable curiosity of mind than did Hadrian. In later years he strove by ceaseless generosity to repay his debt to Greece. So notable were the fruits of the Spanish boy's few years of education at Rome.

Then, in the year A.D. 90, the lad, aged fourteen, went back to his native city there "to learn," says the chronicler, "the art of war". What actual military service a boy of this age would perform in Spain is by no means clear. For Hadrian the art of war during the next two or more years meant little, the love of hunting much. For at least he had become no bookworm in his poring over Greek texts. He flung himself now with ardour into field sports, and revealed that second passion which clung to him through life, the passion for the chase. This indeed was unworthy neither of Hellenist nor of Roman. It had been the love of hunting which, long years before, had endeared Polybius, gravest of Greek statesmen and historians of his day, to his brave young Roman pupil, Scipio the younger. This same love may now perhaps have cemented a friendship still more important in its issues for Rome.

For Hadrian's youthful glory in the chase became, it seems, notorious. "It was quite reprehensible," writes the unsympathetic ancient critic.[1] Trajan, now a general of repute and in favour with the jealous tyrant Emperor Domitian, was at last back from the north and living quietly in Rome. News of his young ward's tastes and activities reached him there from Spain. It was clearly time for the lad to embark on the more serious pursuit of a political career. Trajan's own marriage was a childless one. In the year A.D. 93 he sent for Hadrian to come to him at Rome. On his arrival Trajan treated the youth, then seventeen years of age, as a son and set his feet on the ladder of promotion. Hardly would Hadrian's Greek learning and interests have won a Trajan's heart. It was the youthful huntsman, healthy, vigorous, handsome, athletic, who endeared himself to the Roman warrior.

[1] *Vita* 2, 2.

§ 4. Hadrian's Hunting [1]

"Letters" and athletics pursued keenly together side by side—this Oxford scheme of education might well claim the Roman Emperor, who as a lad himself found unfailing zest, in both, as patron and exemplar. As Emperor, Hadrian continued to pursue his hunting with a fidelity equal to that with which he practised poetry and fostered Hellenic arts.

"Whenever he had opportunity Hadrian went a'hunting," writes one ancient scribe. He slays a huge boar with a single stroke; he kills lions "constantly" with his own hand. In one accident in the hunting-field he broke his collar-bone, in another he fractured a rib. Hunting in Mysia one day he had the luck to slay a bear. Promptly, to commemorate the day's splendid sport, he founded a city on the scene of his exploit and called it Hadrianotherae, "Hadrian's Chase". Once at Athens he exhibited in the stadium a "hunt" of a thousand wild beasts, true in this rather to Spanish than to Hellenic tastes. "Hadrian never summoned any huntsmen from Rome," writes his biographer in one of his usual staccato sentences. If this means that the Emperor always employed local beaters, this was but to be expected of his good sense. Certainly his enjoyment of venery was neither lonely nor selfish. Friends were always invited to share in the day's sport. And he used his own literary talent to glorify his favourite pursuit.

Among the poems on various topics ascribed to Hadrian himself which have survived to this day there are two sets of verses, the one Greek, the other Latin, which have been inspired, the one directly, the other indirectly, by the Emperor's feats in the chase. Both are poor doggerel; yet they are not without their interest.

To the Temple of Eros at Thespiae he presented the skin of a bear slain by himself, for which gift he wrote a dedication in Greek verse. This may be rendered as follows:

Archer, Cyprian Goddess' son,
Heliconian Thespiae's Lord,
Who Narcissus' fields dost own,
Hadrian's offering take, reward—

[1] *Vita* 2, 1, 2; 19, 4; 20, 12, 13; 26, 3; Dio 69, 7, 3; 10, 2, 3. John Malalas p. 280. Hierokles p. 663 (ridiculously as Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Ἥρας). Cf. coins ap. Eckhel VI, 510; Cohen, Add. 517, 1158.

Hadrianotherae: Dio 69, 10, 2; *Vita* 20, 13. Cf. Numism. Chron. 6, p. 115; Revue Num. 1852, p. 90. The town was once the seat of a Bishopric. It has been identified with the village of Trikala (Dict. Geog.) or with that of Balukisar (J. G. C. Anderson) on the main road from Pergamum to Miletopolis, in the Roman province of Asia. Bury seems to have no reason for placing it in Bithynia (p. 507). Another little city, Hadrianoi, birthplace of Aristides the sophist, was founded near by (Philostratus, Vit. Soph. p. 581).

Spoils of bear which he did slay,
Smote from horseback in hot chase :
Now, O wise one, him repay—
Grant him Aphrodite's grace ! [1]

The Latin poem is less stilted. It goes indeed with a swing not inappropriate to its subject. Hadrian built tombs, says his biographer, alike for his dogs and for his horses. The truth of this general statement was confirmed by the discovery just three centuries ago of the tomb of the Emperor's favourite horse, by name Borysthenes. This hunter had died, it seems, at the little town of Apt (Colonia Julia Apta), forty miles east of Arles on the road which leads to Italy up the Durance valley by the Mont Genèvre pass. Here, in 1623, were found the verses which the Emperor wrote and set up on a tablet in memory of the dead Borysthenes. They may be cited both in their original Latin and in an English version of the same :

Borysthenes Alanus
Caesareus veredus
per aequor et paludes
et tumulos Etruscos
volare qui solebat
Pannonicos in apros
nec ullus insequentem
dente aper albicante
ausus fuit nocere,
vel extimam saliva
sparsit ab ore caudam,
ut solet evenire :
sed integer iuventa,
inviolatus artus,
die sua peremptus
hoc situs est in agro.[2]

Borysthenes the Alan
Was Caesar's noble steed :
O'er watery plains and marshes
It flew with faultless speed.
Upon the Tuscan mountains
It chased Pannonia's boar,
Nor ever gleaming tusk of beast
The swift pursuer tore.
No dripping foam from grinning mouth
To sprinkle might avail
(As else we see it happens oft)
This horse's tip of tail.
But still in flower of its youth,
Its limbs unscarred by wound,
Its day did come, it died, and now
Lies buried in this ground.

When Alexander's more famous steed Bucephalus died of old age and fatigue on the banks of the Jhelum, the conqueror founded there his Indian city called after his charger's name. Such Aristotelian magnificence was as worthy of the Macedonian as the more modest tomb and poetical epitaph were of the Roman master.

There remains one other tale of Hadrian's hunting, and in it

[1] Kaibel, Epig. Graec. 811. The editor adds an unkind note to the epithet *σαόφρων* bestowed by the Imperial poet (if the verses really are by Hadrian) on the God : " Gaudebit rara hac laude Amor, qua non impertitus esset opinor si melius Hadriano ad versum explendum vocabulum praesto fuisset ".

[2] C.I.L. XII, 1122. The horse was of Caucasian breed. Both Mommsen and Bücheler think this a genuine epitaph and that alluded to by Dio 69, 10, 3. The poem is given also in Bährens, Poet. Lat. Min. p. 14 sqq. Cf. Hirschfeld ap. C.I.L. XII, p. 144. The twelfth line as a poetical effort is priceless. The German on the sixth line gravely notes that if Hadrian went hunting Pannonian boars in Etruria he must first have had them imported specially into Italy for the purpose. Such sagacity is incontrovertible.

there is embedded a fragment of true poetry, in which indeed Greek literature in its sorry decadence still recalls former Alexandrine glories. The story may be translated directly from its original author : [1]

"There is a lily which in summer time grows in the marshes near Alexandria. This lily is of two colours, the one rose-red, and it is of this that the so-called 'garland of Antinous' is made,—the other blue.

"Now when Hadrian was staying at Alexandria, Pancrates, a local poet of our acquaintance, showed to him the rose-coloured lily. This, said he, the Emperor should name the 'Antinous lily,' since it had sprung up from the ground where the blood of the Maurusian lion had been shed.

"For Hadrian, when he was hunting in the Libyan desert near to Alexandria, had shot this lion. It was a huge beast, and had been ravaging the whole of Libya for a long while past, and had made many districts of that land uninhabitable.

"Hadrian was delighted with Pancrates' fancy and with the novelty of the idea, and rewarded the poet with maintenance in the Museum.

"Pancrates in his poem writes with some grace :

Creeping thyme and lily white,
Hyacinth of purple hue,
Celandine of glimmering light,
Yield ye, every one of you !
Roses too, this springtime hour
Opening to the Zephyrs' sigh,
When Antinous names his flower,
Yield ye up your primacy."

Few will deny that Hadrian had some right to award to Pancrates an academic pension.

§ 5. The First Years of Military Training

Under the early Empire a young Roman of good birth, after his education as a boy in letters and in sport, entered speedily upon a short period of training in some minor office of the public civil administration and then was usually sent to some regiment to learn his military duties as a junior "commissioned" officer. At the time when the boy Hadrian was growing up to early manhood, the northern frontier of the Roman Empire upon the two great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, was the best possible school for the serious study of the arts of war. That frontier had for some years past been in a disturbed state. Dacian inroads into Moesia and Roman punitive expeditions in the years A.D. 85-89

[1] Athenaeus XV, p. 677 d-f. For Antinous see below, chap. viii, § 3.

had been followed by Domitian's recent campaigns against troublesome Sarmatian tribes which in A.D. 92-93 had also been vexing the peace of the Danube frontier. Four years later, at the very outset of his reign, the Emperor Nerva, who succeeded the murdered Domitian in A.D. 96, had to issue orders for yet another expedition, that from Pannonia against the Suebi. Young tribunes of Roman legions encamped upon the Danube enjoyed rare opportunities for the acquiring of practical military knowledge.

It was to this northern frontier that Hadrian, aged nineteen, was sent, in the year A.D. 95. The preceding year he had spent in Rome in the discharge of a petty magisterial office and of some other trifling civil functions.[1] Then came his first military appointment. He was posted as tribune to the Second (Adjutrix) Legion, which Domitian had recently recalled from Chester in Britain and stationed in the river-province of Pannonia at Aquincum (Buda-Pesth).[2]

In two years the young officer was to become personally acquainted with practically the whole of the northern frontier, three Roman provinces upon it, three legions and their head-quarter camps, and the two great rivers. From the Second Legion at Aquincum he was transferred in A.D. 96, the last year of Domitian's rule, as tribune to the Fifth (Macedonica) Legion which was on guard farther down the Danube in the province of Lower Moesia. Next year, it seems, Trajan's fortunes called his young cousin to the Rhine.

In this year, A.D. 97, the new Emperor Nerva sent Trajan as governor to the province of Upper Germany. Nerva was an old and childless man, and on October 27 in this same year he at Rome formally adopted Trajan as his son, colleague, and destined successor to the Principate. The latter meanwhile was busy in his province and for some time knew nothing of the honours heaped upon him. Presently he left Upper for Lower Germany, and was at Cologne when, three months later, on January 25, A.D. 98, Nerva died quietly at Rome and the Empire contentedly passed under the governance of its greatest soldier Prince. Hadrian, then just twenty-two years of age, found himself cousin to a childless Emperor, his own guardian in earlier days, his patron, and his very good friend. How hardly could any have

[1] Decemvir stlitibus judicandis, Sevir turmae equitum Romanorum, and Praefectus feriarum Latinarum. C.I.L. III, 550. This inscription, found at Athens in 1862 in the course of excavations of the Theatre of Dionysus, is the chief source of our knowledge of Hadrian's public offices up to the year A.D. 112 when he became "archon" at Athens. It clearly was cut on the base of a statue of the new archon erected on that occasion in his honour. The actual statue has perished.

[2] C.I.L. III, Suppl. 2324 and C.I.L. X, 135.

anticipated this fortune for the small "Spanish" boy who roamed about the sunny streets of Italica but a few years before!

But recently the soothsayers and prophets, those customary domestic plagues of Roman life, had begun to make busy with Hadrian's name. Already in Moesia one such had disinterred an "old family prophecy" presaging, of course, the young tribune's future greatness. Much water however was yet to flow down the Danube before such untimely predictions came in due course to their fulfilment, and then, but not before, to common talk and club gossip. How many similar but unfulfilled prophecies of astrologers, after misleading the unwary, have left no record because they failed?

And for Hadrian, on the very threshold of this future of promise, an older man's jealousy provided a check. That this envious elder was the tribune's own brother-in-law might well give the young officer some food for thought. He must learn to moderate his too youthful impetuosity.

When the news of Trajan's adoption by Nerva had reached the Danube, Hadrian had been despatched by his brother officers from Lower Moesia to convey to Trajan in Upper Germany the congratulations of the army.[1] The tribune seems to have been seconded then to yet a third Legion, the Twenty Second (Primigenia), then in garrison on the Upper Rhine. Here he came under the orders of the new governor of Upper Germany who had just taken Trajan's place in that capacity. This was Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus, a man destined to be closely connected with Hadrian's own Principate, the victim of a famous tragedy nearly forty years later.[2]

Servianus was already over fifty years of age.[3] He had married Hadrian's one and only sister, Domitia Paulina. But he was on bad terms with his young brother-in-law. Hadrian as a junior officer had been extravagant and had involved himself in debt. His lively taste in horseflesh may well have increased the ordinary Mess expenses in a frontier garrison, even if in those days a change of regiment (and Hadrian had had two such changes) did not involve new and expensive regimental kit. Servianus, crabbed and waxing elderly, seems to have had small sympathy with the feelings of a youngster whose income fell short of his desires. On top of this the youthful Hadrian now showed an unhappy want of respect towards his superior officer the Governor. When the news of Nerva's death was known in Upper Germany, the tribune proposed at once himself to start off down the Rhine

[1] Pliny, Panegyr. 8, 9; Dio 68, 3. But the passage in the former is not very clear, and some take the congratulations to have been sent "to the German army". This seems less likely.

[2] See below, chap. xv, § 1.

[3] The date of his birth is put in A.D. 45.

in hot haste that he might be the first to carry the auspicious news to his cousin, the new Emperor Trajan, at Cologne. The Governor was, not unnaturally, annoyed. His young brother-in-law might well seem to be meaning to steal a march upon him. It was quite clearly the senior's duty and privilege to be the first to forward the news by official courier. For some days he detained the fretting tribune. When at last the young officer was let go, his travelling carriage came mysteriously to grief. Hadrian was not to be baffled by such underhand spite. He pursued his journey on foot, says his veracious biographer, and managed to outstrip the Governor's own messenger after all.[1] The latter must have been sagacious enough to linger on his journey.

There was no need for all this hurry. Trajan, in spite of his accession to power, judged that he still had work which needed doing on the frontier before he returned to Italy. He spent his first winter as Emperor on the Danube, and it was not until the summer of A.D. 99 that he travelled south to Rome. He took Hadrian with him to the city.

There in the palace the younger man was treated with great affection by the Emperor. But in the Imperial household he found himself looked on with some disfavour, and this troubled his spirit.[2] There was one obvious remedy for his anxiety. He reassured himself by consulting the ' Sortes Virgilianae ' ! Virgil, prophetic of fate, could not play a future Emperor false. Hadrian, luckier than King Charles the First of melancholy memory, lighted upon a passage in the Sixth Aeneid so consonant with his secret hopes that the sceptical would assert that he looked for it. These at least were the lines on which his eye rested : [3]

> " Who comes yonder the while with the olive branch on his brow,
> Bearing the sacred vessels ? I know yon tresses, I know
> Yon grey beard, Rome's monarch, the first with law to sustain
> Rome yet young ; from the lordship of Cures' little domain
> Sent to an Empire's throne."

[1] *Vita* 2, 6.

[2] *Vita* 2, 7. This is a truly mysterious passage. " Fuitque in amore Traiani, nec tamen ei per paedagogos puerorum quos Traianus impensius diligebat Gallo . . . favente defuit." This is quite unmeaning as it stands. Casaubon and others have wrestled with the text, suggesting various additions. Who was Gallus ? Was he Rubrius Gallus, consul under Trajan perhaps in A.D. 98 or 101 ? What in any case has he to do with the " Overseers of the Imperial pageboys " ? Why did these disciplinarians and Gallus (if he were one of them) concern themselves with Hadrian ? Why was Trajan so fond of these same pedagogues ? Or was it to the pageboys rather that he showed his favour ? Is " amor " to be supplied as missing subject of " defuit," or " invidia " (Casaubon), or " malefaventia " (Gruter) ? It is all quite a hopeless riddle, and, as Mr. Toots might say, " of no consequence ".

[3] Aeneid VI, 808-812. Bowen's translation.

Numa Pompilius, second of the seven Kings of Rome, gave to the baby city law and peace where Romulus his predecessor had been leader in war and triumphant in conquest. Numa's origin was from a small and feeble city. Numa wore a beard. How happy in all respects, this comparison of Hadrian the Emperor to Numa, whoever in after days invented the story! Too happy indeed and too suggestive of years still remote for a worried young officer not quite sure of his standing in the palace.

The credulous biographer found his appetite for signs and wonders whetted by the incident of the Virgilian Lots. He rambles on with the tale of a prophecy by a Syrian Platonist philosopher, Apollonius by name, elsewhere entirely unknown to history. And the prophecy was culled by him from an oracular shrine of Zeus at Nicephorium on the Euphrates of the existence of which no shred of other evidence exists.[1] It is not even suggested that the gratified Hadrian awarded any pension to the Platonist for his encouraging reminiscences of the voice divine. To such absurdities is the literary evidence for the history of the Emperor reduced!

So, peacefully and uneventfully, the hot slumberous summer of the year A.D. 99 in Rome passed away.

§ 6. Hadrian's Marriage

A surer token of Imperial favour than could be given by oracle or omen was soon bestowed on Hadrian by Trajan. In the year A.D. 100 the former was twenty-four years of age. It was high time to think of a wife for him, did he form a part of Trajan's "dynastic plans". The Emperor himself had married Pompeia Plotina, probably many years earlier. Plotina was a woman of determination and character, courageous, outspoken, loyal to Trajan, worthy of her husband. She was also interested in Greek philosophy. There had been no children of the marriage. But a bride for Hadrian could be found among her husband's kinsfolk.

Trajan's sister Marciana, who was some years older than he was, had wedded a certain Caius Matidius Patruinus, a man else unknown to fame. The pair had one daughter, named Matidia, born by the year A.D. 68 at latest. This Matidia, known as the elder Matidia, in due course married one Lucius Vibius Sabinus.[2] Two girls were born to them. The one was named Matidia after

[1] *Vita* 2, 9. Nicephorium was near Thapsacus on the Euphrates. What has Jove to do with such a place? Should it be "Nicefori Jovis" = Ζευς Νικηφορος = Juppiter Victor, whose famous and most ancient shrine stood on the Palatine Hill in Rome? This would be livelier consolation for Hadrian. But how then does a Syrian Platonist come into the story?

[2] Cf. Borghesi on C.I.L. VI, 28804. Sabinus probably died soon. Cf. C.I.L. XIV, 3579.

her mother, the other Vibia Sabina after her father. These two children were thus grand-nieces of the Emperor Trajan.[1]

Plotina the Empress chose Vibia Sabina to be Hadrian's wife. Trajan, it was said, was doubtful of the choice,[2] but Plotina's was the decisive influence. That in default of children of her own she thought to find an heir to Trajan in Hadrian, whom her husband had long since treated as a son, is probable, if she now despaired of bearing any son herself. But in any case, that Plotina showed no jealousy of the handsome youth is under the circumstances a credit alike to the kindness of the woman and to the sagacity of the Empress. For, in the failure of more direct heirs, the two children, Matidia the younger and Sabina, were Trajan's only living near relations. The choice of Hadrian as bridegroom to the latter might therefore be called a "significant alliance".[3] Even in Roman Imperial history, however, it is somewhat startling, and to this extent still more significant, to discover that the bride may still have been a little girl aged twelve when she was married to Hadrian.[4]

Roman portrait statuary has never been surpassed for its fidelity and vigour. Flattery it almost always successfully shunned. It is then with confidence that Vibia Sabina may be described, at least to some extent, from a statue recently found at Ostia. Her mother Matidia was both beautiful and indulgent. She herself was a very charming little Roman maiden, petulant, wilful, fond of fun, demanding attention, apt to be angry if she failed to receive this. It is to be feared that Hadrian failed to win her heart. Gossip said that, as the years went by, the marriage proved to be not a domestic success. When Hadrian, then Emperor, was in Britain, he was heard to complain angrily that his Prefect of the Guard did not, in his own absence, treat the Empress with all due deference. He sent and removed the offender, Septicius Clarus, from his prefecture. Suetonius Tranquillus, most famous of all scandalous biographers, for the same transgression met with the same punishment, and lost his clerk's office "Ab epistolis".[5] To such treatment of her friends Sabina responded with frowns, and pouts, and angry words. Hadrian, she declared, was just a monster and treated her no

[1] Cf. Mommsen, Ges. Schr. I, p. 425. Inscriptions in honour of the younger Matidia at Augsburg (C.I.L. III, 5807) and Ephesus (C.I.L. III, 60702). And see note at end of this section.

[2] A statement directly ascribed to Marius Maximus in the *Vita*.

[3] Bury p. 491.

[4] So Mommsen, loc. cit., works it out. English history has instances of royal princesses married at a still more tender age for political reasons. Cf. "The Times" for Feb. 24, 1922, p. 11.

[5] *Vita* II, 3; 15, 2. Of course a scandal-loving source. If this misfortune drove Suetonius to the writing of Imperial biographies for a livelihood, he enjoyed the satisfaction of a very notable revenge on Autocracy if not on Hadrian himself.

better than a slave-girl. "She had taken very good care that no child of hers should afflict the human race hereafter." Thus Rome, most scandalous of cities, whispered, explaining with malignant winks why no children were born to Hadrian and Sabina.

In all such gossip there may well be no single word of truth. It was in such ways that Court and Senatorial circles always revenged themselves on the Roman Emperor for their futilities and their impotencies. Plotina herself became presently the victim of yet graver scandal. Those miserable writings which in the second and succeeding centuries passed for history or biography are foully polluted from their very source. During the greater part of her husband's long travels Sabina may have been left lonely in Rome and found the time hang heavy on her hands. But she was faithful to Hadrian and he to her. And in his pleasure-trip to Egypt at least she certainly accompanied the Emperor. If then Sabina took with her to Egypt a poetess, Julia Balbilla, in her train, Hadrian, patron of Greek letters, can have had reason to complain only of the inferiority of the learned lady's verses when he read them inscribed upon the left foot of the patient Memnon.[1] Probably there was fair give and take. It is never recorded that the Empress objected to Antinous.

Sabina died some two years before her husband. He honoured her memory as he had done that of her grandmother and mother before her. In her lifetime, perhaps when Plotina died in A.D. 128, Hadrian bestowed on her the proud title of Augusta. On her death, towards the end of A.D. 136, he consecrated her as divine and laid her ashes to rest in his new glorious Mausoleum on the farther bank of Tiber, now known as the Castle of S. Angelo.[2] Men said that he poisoned her.[3] After thirty-six years of wedded life! It grates, even to repeat so absurd a tale. Sabina may still live for us, a piquant dainty maiden at the first, charming enough to win young Hadrian's interest and keep it through so many years of married life, even though quarrels sometimes might ruffle its surface. Perhaps she misliked her youthful husband's beard. Such an adornment was a new fashion which he first set at Court.[4] It was Hadrian who might well be lonely. For he had no son.[5]

[1] See below, p. 24. [2] See below, chap. xiv, § 3. [3] *Vita* 23, 9.

[4] *Vita* 26, 1: "Promissa barba ut vulnera, quae in facie naturalia erant, tegeret". Byron light-heartedly improves on this: "Adrian the Emperor wore a beard (having warts on his chin which neither the Empress Sabina nor even the courtiers could abide)". (Note to "The Waltz".) Or was the beard due to Greek philosophy?

[5] Evidence for this section:

(*a*) *Sabina: Vita* 11, 3; 23, 9; Epit. 8. Cf. Schiller p. 604; Laffranchi p. 358. *In Egypt* and Balbilla's poems, *v.* C.I.G. 4725-4730 = Kaibel, Epig. Graec. 988-992. The verses are not worth repetition. The Imperial company paid more than one visit to Memnon, who duly obliged with his "Klang" (Dürr p. 64) on Nov. 21, A.D. 130. His

VIBIA SABINA

A statue recently found at Ostia

silence on another occasion provoked Hadrian's wrath " because his wife is kept waiting ". This at once provoked again the morning song and another set of verses from the indefatigable Balbilla. " Mirum quantum laeta dialecto Aeolica," remarks Boeckh pensively. *Date of Sabina's death :* The inscription on the Triumphal Arch of the Municipium Avitta Bibba in the Proconsular province of Africa to Hadrian, Aelius Caesar, and Sabina (C.I.L. VIII, 799) does not necessarily prove that she was still alive in A.D. 137, as the editor Wilmann thinks. Her dated Alexandrine coins reach only to the twentieth year of Hadrian (Aug. 29, 135-Aug. 29, 136). Hence P.-W. puts her death late in A.D. 136. Burial and Consecration : C.I.L. VI, 984 (A.D. 139). Cf. Bormann and Henzen ad loc. against Eckhel VI, 522, who doubts the consecration.

(*b*) *Matidia :* At end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century a fragmentary inscription of thirty-seven lines was found at the church of S. Paolo at Tivoli. This is lost, but from a transcription made of it Mommsen in 1863 showed it to be part of a funeral oration pronounced by Hadrian himself over Matidia. Probably it was inscribed on the base of a statue of the lady set up at Tibur. She died and was consecrated by Hadrian on Dec. 23, A.D. 119. Cf. *Vita* 9, 9 ; 19, 5. Date ap. Acta Fratrum Arvalium (Henzen CLVIII, p. 88 = C.I.L. VI, 2080. Laffranchi p. 344, is ignorant of this). For the " Laudatio funebris " itself cf. C.I.L. XIV, 3579, and Mommsen's original paper, reprinted in his Ges. Schr. I, Berlin 1905, pp. 422-428. A few lines (23-26) may be quoted : " Vixit marito carissima, post eum longissimo viduvio in eximio flore aetatis et summa pulchritudine formae castissima, matri suae obsequentissima, ipsa mater indulgentissima, cognata piissima, omnes iuvans, nulli gravis, nemini tristis." There is not much Hellenic moderation about Hadrian's Latin style, but funeral oratory demands superlatives. Cf. also Lanciani pp. 504-505.

CHAPTER II

MANHOOD AND ACCESSION

§ 1. In State service.
§ 2. The last wars and death of Trajan.
§ 3. The "Adoption" (?) of Hadrian.

CHAPTER II

§ 1. In State Service

THE seventeen years of Hadrian's life which followed his marriage with Sabina in A.D. 100 are the years of the very flower of his manhood, in which he grew from a youth of twenty-four into a staid thoughtful man of forty-one. Yet, busy though he was throughout this time both in the pursuits of peace and the practices of war, these years are well nigh devoid of any actual incident in his life which might attract the notice of ancient biographer or chronicler. Attention was riveted on the closing scene of Trajan's life and the part played in it by Hadrian and Plotina.

Actually, these first seventeen years of the second century A.D. during which Trajan ruled the Roman Empire are a great and notable page in the long history of Rome. It was a time, of careful administration indeed at home, but especially of such great public glory abroad that never again was Rome to attain the like. But the fame of it belongs only to the Emperor Trajan himself. Like all conquerors, from Cyrus or Alexander to Cromwell and Napoleon, he, the protagonist, eclipses completely all secondary players in the drama. The names indeed are known of some few of Trajan's generals, who rendered him loyal and devoted service. But they lack the repute even of Napoleon's Marshals. Licinius Sura, Trajan's Chief of Staff in his Dacian wars, Lusius Quietus, the Emperor's right hand in his eastern campaigns,—such fine soldiers as these are hardly more than lay figures to us. When a Nero stays passively in Rome, a Corbulo can be living champion of Rome in the East. When a Trajan takes the field in person at head of his legions beyond the Danube and the Tigris, but scant glory is left for lesser men. The great last wars of Roman conquest which planted the eagles on Carpathian heights or bore them over Mesopotamian deserts, these are Trajan's history. In them Hadrian played his part, but it was a small one. Indeed it is but rarely that he makes any entry at all into the record of Trajan's two Dacian Wars and of those campaigns in the East in the years A.D. 114-116 whereby the soldier Emperor added to Rome's dominions four new provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Parthia itself.

The ordinary course of civilian duties first engaged Hadrian's attention. In A.D. 101 he became Quaestor, nominated to this magistracy by the Emperor. During his term of office he was made to learn one lesson. It fell to his lot to read a speech of Trajan's to the Senate, the Emperor not seldom assigning this duty in his own absence to his Quaestor. The assembled Fathers smiled broadly, mocking at Hadrian's " rustic accent ". In such small ways a true-born Roman could still delight to manifest his feeling of superiority over the mere provincial, whatever might be the Imperial policy of equal rights within the Empire.[1] The speaker took the jeering in good part. For at once he spared no pains to master this defect of speech until he became known as a " consummate master of Latin eloquence ".[2]

In this same year of Hadrian's Quaestorship Trajan's First Dacian War began. He accompanied the Emperor to the Danube, and took part, it seems, in the campaigns of this and the following years. On two occasions Trajan bestowed on him the military decorations customary as a reward for useful service. He himself once remarked that he endeared himself to the Emperor and won rich gifts from him mainly by following his example and indulging very freely in wine at mess.[3] That such potations in that cold northern climate ever spoiled Trajan's vigour or confused his strategical insight the successful course of the Dacian campaigns disproves. The foolish ancient compiler of Hadrian's " Life " seized on this pretty bit of ironical self-depreciation as the sole incident in the First Dacian War worthy of his record.

Hadrian returned from the north in A.D. 103 to quiet civil employments in Rome. He became " Curator of Senatorial Records,"[4] and then, in A.D. 105, " Tribune of the Plebs ". This last was the ordinary step in the Senatorial career between Quaestorship and Praetorship. Only those of " patrician " blood or rank were exempt from it, and such distinction was not Hadrian's. His own " Memoirs," now so unhappily lost, recorded one incident of the writer's Tribunate. It is so hopelessly trivial as to suggest that the autobiographer took himself over seriously. In that incident, however, he chose to see an omen of his future greatness. In bad weather the tribunes when they went about the streets of Rome wore an old-fashioned rustic frieze overcoat, called the " paenula ". Grammarians and teachers of rhetoric also wore this cloak, though no explanation is given why so ill-assorted a trio should be associated together in this special

[1] One recalls the sneers of the Senatorial aristocracy against the Emperor Claudius, or, still earlier, the criticism of the historian Livy's " Patavinitas " by the literary precisians of the Augustan Age.

[2] *Vita* 3, 1; cf. C.I.L. III, 550.

[3] *Vita* 3, 3; C.I.L. III, 550.

[4] *Vita* 3, 2. Cf. P.-W. and Mommsen, St. R. II³, 901, 6, for this office.

precaution against the rain. Such a garb, however, was clearly beneath the dignity of an " Imperator ". Now it befel one stormy day that the tribune Hadrian had the hap to lose his frieze overcoat. He consoled himself by reflecting that in days to come he might never need another. Could a parish priest in Italy to-day lose his cotton umbrella with such equanimity, thinking that the Vatican Gardens had small need for such ? And could anything be more petty than this whole story ? [1]

The Second and decisive Dacian War broke out in this same year, A.D. 105. Trajan bestowed on his cousin his first legionary command, that of the First (Minervia) Legion, and summoned him to the war. Hadrian, now again on active service, may have been present at its closing scenes the next year, the capture of Sarmizegetusa, the enemy's capital city, and the definite annexation of the country. But the ancient biographer merely makes the dull and jejune remark that in the war Hadrian " did many great and famous deeds ".[2] A child could write a more inspiring bulletin. The modern archaeologist adds a humble, but a picturesque, contribution. Hadrian's legion had for its special emblem the ram. On " Trajan's Column " in Rome, that most wonderful panoramic representation of the Dacian Wars, this ram of the First Legion is seen depicted in one scene, carried on a pole like a legionary eagle. This, it is suggested, was meant by way of compliment to the regimental Colonel.[3]

More immediately satisfactory perhaps to Hadrian was Trajan's personal gift to him in reward for his services in the field. For this took the shape of a diamond ring which the Emperor himself had been given by his predecessor Nerva.[4] Here was truly a " significant gift " again. But some protest must at last be made. According, it seems, to the scribblers of the history of the time, that worthless flotsam and jetsam alone preserved amid the wreckage of its historical literature, Hadrian could think of little else, sleeping or waking, but the one question " Who is to succeed Trajan ? " Every incident is wrested round to some significance in relation to this doubt. Malvolio himself could do no better. Trajan, as " adamant " as the ring which he gave, kept his kinsman on the tenterhooks of expectation and uncertainty all these long weary seventeen years or more. Little is worth recording unless it may relieve Hadrian's gnawing uneasiness.

All this pays but a sorry compliment to the two great Romans, between whom friendship had existed for so many years, a friendship cemented by their sharing together the risks and toils of arduous war. It is mean and disappointing work to wait

[1] *Vita* 3, 4, 5. Cf. Dict. Antiq. s.v. " paenula ".
[2] *Vita* 3, 6, 7.
[3] Cf. Stuart Jones, " Companion to Roman History," p. 214.
[4] *Vita* 3, 7.

expectantly ever for another man's death,[1] to watch unceasingly for omens of what may happen when in the course of nature this befalls. Let the literary hack of ancient Roman times indulge his wretched fancy thus, but not a Hadrian.

Before commanding a Roman legion as its legate, a man should, by common rule, already have held the Praetorship. Under the stress of war or by Trajan's special favour Hadrian was both legate and praetor at the same time, in the year A.D. 106.[2] He returned to Rome before his year of office ended, in time to give the "Shows" the parade and expense of which had for many a long year formed part of a praetor's duties. To help pay the cost, Trajan gave him four million sesterces.[3] Then, as soon as the new year came, the Emperor sent him back to the Danube as Governor of Lower Pannonia.

In this his first provincial command Hadrian discharged with fidelity the tasks customary to the governor of a frontier district. "He kept the Sarmatians in check, maintained military discipline, coerced peccant procurators."[4] Returning soon to Rome, he was given the consulship by Trajan on June 22, A.D. 108, his colleague in that magistracy being Marcus Trebatius Priscus.[5] Hadrian was then thirty-two years of age. His promotion lately had been rapid.

There followed six uneventful quiet years for Hadrian as for Trajan. At some time during these years the ties between the two were drawn yet closer, and the younger man found a new use, to which he could put his new-won "mastery of Latin eloquence".[6] This was due to the death of Licinius Sura. This famous general and trusty comrade of the Emperor had long been a good friend to Hadrian.[7] Yet his death gave to the latter his new opportunity. For Sura had been often employed by Trajan to compose Imperial speeches. The soldier Emperor was too impatient to pay much heed to literary or oratorical requirements.[8]

[1] Cf. Cornelis in the "Cloister and the Hearth," chap. 102, for so mean a soul. Or Jonas Chuzzlewit.

[2] C.I.L. III, 550, a positive assertion. The *Vita* here blunders badly, setting his praetorship "sub surano bis et serviano iterum coss" (3, 8). Sura and Servianus were thus consuls in A.D. 102. Mommsen thinks the biographer has confused these with the consuls, Sura and Senecio, of A.D. 107. If so, Hadrian's praetorship must have been after the Dacian War in A.D. 107, and his governorship of Pannonia in A.D. 108. Cf. Mommsen, Ges. Schr. IV, p. 381, note 5. So Schulz p. 23. But as he was certainly consul in June, A.D. 108 (C.I.L. XIV, 2242), and in view of C.I.L. III, 550, the year A.D. 106 is almost certainly that of his praetorship. So P.-W., and Klebs, Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, p. 17.

[3] *Vita* 3, 8. Readings vary between "vicies" and "iterum vicies". Mommsen prefers the former, i.e. two million only. The learned scholars of earlier date rejected this as unworthy of Trajan's Imperial munificence.

[4] ? from the Autobiography.

[5] *Vita* 3, 9, and C.I.L. XIV, 2242 (= VI, 2016).

[6] See above, p. 30.

[7] *Vita* 2, 9; 3, 10.

[8] Cf. Julian, "Caesares," 327 B; *Vita* 4, 1.

Hadrian was just the man to succeed Sura in the discharge of this delicate duty.

He had besides, as consular, to fill certain important priestly functions in Rome.[1] Athens too paid him in A.D. 112 the graceful compliment of electing him her "Archon" for the year.[2] He may have then first visited the city. But the honour could be bestowed "in absence," and when later as Emperor he came to the city of his delight, it seems from the record to have been his first journey here. Everything however proves that Hadrian was now a foremost figure in Court circles. But whatever he himself or others may have expected,[3] Trajan as yet gave no sign of any intention officially to mark him out as the destined heir to Imperial power.

§ 2. The Last Wars and Death of Trajan

In the year A.D. 113 Trajan, spite of his sixty years of age, resolved on the greatest of his military enterprises, the attack on Rome's one great rival Empire, the Oriental monarchy of Parthia. There followed the brilliant campaign which drove the Arsacid Prince in flight to the remotest eastern corner of his dominions, brought the Roman Emperor to the very waters of the Persian Gulf, and marked the high tide for all time of Roman enterprise in the Orient. "Ah, had I Alexander's years!" murmured Trajan, his longing gaze following wistfully the vanishing sails of a little barque southwards bound down the Gulf to India. Then, amid the silence of his Staff, the Emperor turned and journeyed back to Ctesiphon.

In this epic of the conquest of the East Hadrian's biographer can claim for the younger man the very briefest page. The great tale of Roman victory, disaster, and endurance belongs to the historian of Trajan's Principate.[4] Indeed, although Hadrian was present in the theatre of war, nothing is related of military duties allotted to him or achievements wrought by him. That also he looked dispassionately, even critically, upon this whole forward policy seems certain. The higher officers of Trajan's brilliant staff, Palma, Celsus, Quietus, discovered Hadrian's lukewarmness, viewing it with anger and suspicion and a hostility which perhaps he came presently to resent. His own friends were men of lesser note. But Trajan trusted him. For in the last year of his life, A.D. 117, the Emperor appointed him the Governor of Syria, and he took up his residence at Antioch, then as always the base for

[1] Septemvir epulonum and Sodalis Augustalis: C.I.L. III, 550.
[2] C.I.L. III, 550; Phlegon, F.H.G. III, 623; Dio 69, 16, 1; *Vita* 19, 1.
[3] *Vita* 3, 10.
[4] This indeed I have planned to write. See Preface. Meanwhile I have ventured a brief treatment of it in "The Nineteenth Century and After" for November, 1920, which, with other papers, I hope presently to be able to republish in book form.

all Roman military operations in the far East. And it was here at Antioch, gayest and most dissolute and most beautiful of cities, that the Emperor himself spent his last and troubled winter, that of A.D. 116-117.

For evils now were crowding thickly upon the Roman arms. The conquest had been too rapid. The distances were too vast. The country was too difficult, and its inhabitants were alike treacherous and hostile. For the time being Trajan retained his masterful grip of Armenia and of northern Mesopotamia. But already in A.D. 116 he had abandoned his direct annexation of the lands beyond the Tigris and of lower Mesopotamia as well, the "captured Parthia" of his proud message to the wondering Senate in Rome. He placed a traitor Arsacid upon the throne of Ctesiphon. This prince's seat was indeed but insecure. No foreign power might maintain him long against his rightful over-lord, waiting the chance to return to his lost kingdom.

Worse news yet reached Antioch in that same gloomy winter. Fired by some infectious madness the Jews of the Dispersion rose in furious wanton insurrection against their Roman masters. In Egypt, in Cyprus, in Cyrene, in Mauretania this bitter folk gave loose rein to the passions of fanaticism. Murder and pillage went hand in hand together. In Mesopotamia itself, Jewish rebels threatened the safety of the Roman garrisons. Blacker and blacker thunderclouds rolled up on every horizon of the Empire. Hadrian's biographer, writing of the year A.D. 117, presents a succinct but alarming picture of the political situation:

> "The peoples whom Trajan had subdued were revolting. Moors were provocative, Sarmatians attacking, Britons defiant of control. Egypt was a prey to sedition, Libya and Palestine had risen in rebellion."

Never might Trajan's presence seem to be required more urgently in Rome, the centre of administration. The call of the East faded away. In the summer of the year the Emperor left Antioch, journeying homewards by the coast road of Cilicia. Then came on a sudden the end. At the small town of Selinus, 250 miles from Antioch, in Plotina's presence (who had been with him in Syria), Trajan was smitten with paralysis, and there he, Rome's greatest warrior Emperor, aged close on 64 years, passed quietly away on the eighth of August, A.D. 117. He had spent himself for Rome.

§ 3. The "Adoption" (?) of Hadrian

Did Trajan on his very deathbed at last formally "adopt" Hadrian as his son? Such adoption would ensure him the succession.

So ran the official story. When Trajan was at Selinus, Hadrian was still at Antioch. The Emperor (so it was published to the world) sent "letters of adoption," written just before his death, to Hadrian. These letters arrived at Antioch on the ninth of August. Two days later news reached Hadrian of Trajan's death on the eighth of August. Hence Hadrian counted August 9 as the "birthday of his adoption" and August 11 as the "birthday of his rule"—his "Dies Imperii".[1]

Scepticism, if secret, was none the less rife. As was bound to happen under the circumstances, rumours of all kinds were current. Trajan, said some, had always meant to follow Alexander's example and leave no successor. Others asserted that an heir was chosen, not Hadrian however, but a certain Neratius Priscus. Others again maintained that the Emperor had resolved to leave the election of a successor to the free choice of the Roman Senate, himself writing to that body merely to suggest a few possible names.

All these regarded the letters of adoption as a forgery. There were those too who embroidered this belief, whispering with evil smiles that Plotina the Empress had found the way. Long, said they, had she been enamoured of Hadrian. Now, while Trajan lay dead, she had induced one to personate him lying sick, and to declare "in weary tones" that Hadrian was his adopted son. The Emperor's death was concealed for some days, they asserted, until Plotina had made all secure. In all her plotting she was helped by Hadrian's old guardian Attianus, then it seems Prefect of the Praetorian Guard and present beside Trajan's deathbed at Selinus.

It seems almost curious that ancient scandal failed to take the one remaining step and asseverate that the guilty Empress poisoned the husband with whom she had lived so long and faithfully to secure the accession to power of her paramour, now a grave bearded man forty-one years of age. But this last suggestion was reserved for a modern German's ingenuity. His unwholesome fancy has fastened upon a couple of inscriptions, clutching them as some harpy its foul unsavoury feast.[2]

On August 12, A.D. 117, there died and was buried at Selinus a man, Marcus Ulpius Phaidimus by name, who was Trajan's "lictor proximus," i.e. close personal attendant. Thirteen years later, one of the dead man's former friends, a certain Marcus Ulpius Valens, had the remains exhumed at Selinus and, at cost of much labour and money, transhipped them for reinterment to Rome.

[1] *Vita* 4; Dio 69, 1, 2; cf. Schiller p. 603. Stuart Jones ("Roman Empire," p. 176) unfortunately makes news of Trajan's death reach Hadrian on Aug. 9, of the adoption, on Aug. 11. This makes the latter, which Stuart Jones credits, still less likely.

[2] C.I.L. VI, 1884 and 8550.

Thus far the facts. There follows the German's sinister interpretation. Phaidimus was but 28 years old when, four days after his master, he died. He was in the very vigour of his years. Trajan would never have chosen a weakling as his valet. What then was the cause of the servant's sudden death? He knew too much, and Plotina saw to it that he should not long survive the Emperor. The tool of her designs paid the penalty before Hadrian could reach Selinus from Antioch. The murderous fraud, adds the ingenious editor, was highly fortunate for the whole Roman world, in that it secured a Hadrian as Trajan's successor and without causing the least disturbance.[1]

The moral is undesirable, worthy indeed of a Byzantine or an Ottoman Court. A little healthy common sense may show it to be unnecessary. That Plotina indulged in a guilty passion for Hadrian, had been in fact enamoured of her more youthful cousin for upwards of some twenty years, and committed murder at the last, all this is a belief appropriate to minds which can explain her unwearying patronage of the younger man through all these years upon no other grounds. Impuris omnia impura. All that really is in question is the genuineness of the supposed adoption of Hadrian by Trajan.

That Trajan had at least postponed this until the very last hours of his life is certain. Explanations of this fact may differ. It has been urged that after all the natures of the two men were not in truth sympathetic. The militarist distrusted the pacificist, who was but too likely to reverse his policy.[2] But it is highly doubtful that the Emperor had detected such unwelcome tendencies in Hadrian. They had fared through many wars together side by side. Trajan had trusted him as a son from his boyhood up. He had promoted him regularly to high commands, if with no indecent haste. The Emperor had given him his own nearest living relative to wife. He had bestowed upon him other signal signs of imperial favour.[3] At the very last he had made Hadrian Governor at Antioch, Viceroy, as it were, of the East, or at least in charge of the one province on which all military operations there depended. Despite the backbiting malignancy of the gossip of the time, not one single tale has been handed down of any, even the slightest, quarrel between the two. Not the least doubt

[1] H. Dessau, "Die Vorgänge bei dei Thronbesteigung Hadrians," ap. Festschrift für H. Kiepert, 1898, pp. 85-91 (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie). One might venture to suggest in addition to Dessau's arguments that Valens waited until Plotina was dead before paying his last sad tribute to a murdered friend's remains, etc., etc.

I have ventured to allude to this picturesque if unpleasant scandal in my paper "Beyond the Might of Rome" in the "Nineteenth Century and After" for November, 1920. A classical colleague opined that I had invented Phaidimus myself!

[2] So Schulz p. 25. But he believes in the adoption as genuine at the last.

[3] Such as the gift of Nerva's diamond ring. But Kornemann deprecates attaching much importance to this, and indeed this was now an old story—a dozen years before.

TRAJAN

A BUST IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

PLOTINA

A BUST IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

in antiquity was cast on Trajan's belief in the honour of his wife or upon his temperate undisturbed affection for his cousin.

Who then but Hadrian could in due course succeed Trajan as Emperor? Neratius Priscus? Priscus was an estimable elderly jurist, verging on the age of seventy years when Trajan died. He was a respected servant, a friend of Pliny, a trusted member of the Imperial Privy Council, older than Trajan himself. If, as rumour said, the Emperor had once casually remarked to him " Look after the provinces should anything happen to me," this was no very solid foundation upon which the sober lawyer could raise an airy fabric of expectation.[1]

Only Hadrian could fill the childless Trajan's place. And, when the time came, no one dared openly say him nay. His accession to the Imperial power met with no opposition and was generally approved. The envious found their usual consolation in whispering tales to his and to Plotina's disparagement. Their only success lay in muddying the record. The actual " deathbed adoption " indeed may still remain an open question. Clearly the vigorous Trajan felt no need for any such step so long as he himself enjoyed his customary health. He may have thought it undesirable to nominate a " Caesar ". If this his reluctance disturbed Court circles and even at times perturbed Hadrian himself, it did no kind of other hurt. And if Trajan did fail at the very last in actual fact to adopt Hadrian, the reason for this lay surely in the circumstances of his death, the sudden seizure at Selinus. If the tale of the adoption were an invention, whether by Plotina, Attianus, or Hadrian himself, it was at least but the making explicit what was and had long been implicit in all the circumstances of the case. Hadrian's foes might have reason for scepticism. If they denied his right, they had small insight into the needs of the Roman Empire in the summer of that critical year A.D. 117, when the very fabric of the whole Roman world seemed shaken.

One small quaint relic of antiquity has recently come to light which illustrates the official rejoicings which must have greeted Hadrian's accession through the whole Roman Empire. In the little district of Apollonopolitis on the Libyan side of the Nile in Upper Egypt (Thebais), the local administrator set his wits to work to commemorate the auspicious event. Down he sate to compose an oration for the benefit of the villagers. It is his rough draft of this, scrawled upon a small papyrus sheet, which lately has been found. In it Phoebus Apollo, the district's patron Deity, exhorts the peasants in fair rhythmic Greek prose :

[1] *Vita* 4, 8. For Neratius Priscus cf. Klebs, Prosop. Imp. Rom. II, p. 402. He was consul in A.D. 83 or 87 at latest.

"In white-horsed chariot have I now mounted with Trajan to the Heavens, whence come I now again to you, O my people, I, not unknown to you, I the God Phoebus, and proclaim unto you the new King, Hadrian. To him be all things happily subject, alike by reason of his virtue and for the blessed fortune of his divine father.

"Wherefore be it our part now to make sacrifice of burnt offerings, to refresh our souls with laughter, to quaff draughts from the fountain, to make merry with ointments from the gymnasium, the whole whereof is furnished you by the Governor's piety towards the Emperor and by his own love for you besides."

The German editor of this fine flowery proclamation gravely suggests that unless the village fountain "ran wine or beer as in German Imperial Coronations in the Middle Ages" the Governor put himself to but small expense despite his eloquence. He is justified in truth. Unguents and aqua pura under a Nilotic summer sun can have provoked but a tepid gaiety among the fellaheen, unless Phoebus dealt beyond his wont gently with his worshippers.[1]

NOTE TO § 3

The Question of Hadrian's "Adoption" by Trajan

The *Vita* 4, 6 and 7, credits the letter of adoption, but is also rich in contrary rumours. Dio Cassius 69, 1, discredits it. The latter's view is an interesting one, since he tells us that he relies on a tale told to him by his own father Apronianus, gossip picked up by the latter when he was governor of Cilicia (some sixty-five years after Trajan's death!). The dutiful son accepts the local story. In 69, 10, 3, he repeats the scandalous tale of Plotina's "passion". Eutropius VIII, 6, 1, insists on Trajan's failure to adopt Hadrian earlier as significant. Aurelius Victor, Caesares 13, gives both views, and tells the tale of the "forged will". There is a very wearisome discussion of the question in Kornemann, pp. 11-21, who besides is here greatly involved in the problem of the "sources" for the *Vita* (which is hopelessly insoluble). After analysing every sentence meticulously he sums up against the genuineness of the adoption. He certainly lays too great a stress upon the fact that Hadrian on his accession gave a double donative to the troops (see next chapter). There is small need to think that this was intended to purchase their acquiescent silence in accepting a forgery. A long list of opinions on both sides is also to be found in Kornemann, and there are still other references in von Premerstein, p. 74 note. Schulz and Schiller are inclined to credit the story of the adoption. The latter (p. 603) is properly scornful of the scandal about Plotina, and contrasts the picture of her given by Pliny (Panegyr. 83). P.-W. and Klebs, Prosop. Imp. Rom., disbelieve in the adoption. That coins were duly struck to celebrate this could only be evidence of its truth if Trajan himself had ordered their issue, which, under the circumstances, is plainly impossible.

[1] Cf. Kornemann, *Ἄναξ καινὸς Ἀδριανός*, ap. Klio VII, pp. 278-288.

CHAPTER III

EARLY TROUBLES OF THE REIGN

§ 1. Hadrian's coming to Rome.
§ 2. On the Danube frontier.
§ 3. The "Conspiracy of the four Consulars".
§ 4. The death of Plotina.
[Note to § 3. New light on the Conspiracy?]

CHAPTER III

§ 1. Hadrian's Coming to Rome

SOME months passed before the new Emperor arrived in Rome from Syria. He wrote, however, at once in August A.D. 117 from Antioch to the Senate, praying that Body to confirm his appointment as Princeps. This request, mere form though it was, was conceived in the true spirit of Augustan "constitutionalism". In the same letter he forbade the Fathers to vote to him either then or at any other time any of the customary honours and titles conferred on a Roman Emperor unless he should himself ask for such. Thus it was not until the year A.D. 128 that he formally accepted the title of "Father of his Country" (Pater Patriae), although many of his subjects bestowed this name upon him from the first.[1]

This, Hadrian's first official letter as Emperor, was written says the Greek historian, "as by a man of lofty soul".

> "Moreover," he continues, "in it Hadrian took oath to do nothing save what might be of service to the Commonwealth; nor would he, so he sware, put at any time any Senator to death, invoking destruction upon himself should he hereafter offend in any respect herein."[2]

The Roman Senate had heard similar solemn promises from Emperors in former days and found that they might lack fulfilment. Doubtless, however, Hadrian's Senators welcomed the Emperor's fair words with as grateful and lively a hope as that cherished by their deluded predecessors.

But in actual fact Hadrian was by temperament as well as by policy merciful. He was the man least of all men likely to initiate his reign by a proscription or persecution of actual or possible opponents. This he quickly showed.

For in the very earliest days of his rule, says his biographer,[3] he had received letters from Attianus, urging him at once to rid himself of three suspicious characters. One of these was Baebius Macer, then City Prefect at Rome. The second was Manius

[1] *Vita* 6, 4. See Appendix F, "Hadrian's Titles".
[2] Dio 69, 2, 4.
[3] *Vita* 5, 5-6.

Laberius Maximus, a man of some note.[1] He had been a general of Trajan's in the Dacian Wars, and had held the consulship twice, once with Trajan himself. But later, this Emperor had seen reason to distrust his fidelity, and, with a severity foreign to his own nature, had banished him to an island, where he was living in exile on Hadrian's accession. The third of the suspects was Caius Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus, of a famous old family, as the length of his name by itself seems to show.[2] This Crassus was an old conspirator both against Nerva and against Trajan. The former Emperor had banished both him and his wife as well to Tarentum, a pleasant enough place of exile. Trajan had removed him thence to an island. Attianus now urged Hadrian to put all three to death.

The Emperor however was far too indifferent to any peril from such sources to pay the least heed to his Praetorian Prefect's advice. It was not from such men that danger, if there were any such, would threaten. Baebius and Laberius continued alive, and unhurt. Crassus brought fate upon himself by unwisely attempting escape from his secure island refuge. A zealous procurator caught him and killed him, " without Hadrian's orders ".

Not very many months were to pass by before an enmity in a different quarter was to be detected. Of these old Senatorial intriguers or malignants Hadrian, had he been in fact quick at suspicion, might have thought somewhat in the spirit of the epitaph on an infant in a Devon country churchyard :

> " Amidst such mighty plunder, why exhaust
> Thy partial quiver on a mark so mean ? "

But Trajan's veteran generals were more serious matter for distrust, as soon as these saw that the new Emperor was minded to surrender the fruits of their own military exploits. For the moment their dislike smouldered secretly. But Hadrian took two precautions early against any such possible military peril. To the troops he at once issued a " double donative " in celebration of his accession. And he ventured quite openly to give effect to his distrust of the most famous of all his predecessor's generals.

This was the cavalry leader of the Mesopotamian campaign, Lusius Quietus " the Moor," who by dashing brilliance had won great repute both in the Dacian and in the Parthian wars. In the last year of Trajan's life, that Emperor had sent him to quell the insurgent Jews in northern Mesopotamia, a task which he had performed with marked success, and next had appointed him Governor of Judaea itself, the homeland of the rebels.[3] A late

[1] Cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. II, p. 258. [2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 276, No. 206.
[3] Dio 68, 32, 5

(and entirely worthless) writer says that Trajan had chosen Quietus to succeed him as Emperor.[1] The fire of the Jewish rising had by now spread its ravages to the general's own native country, Mauretania. Quietus was quite obviously the soldier to whom the task of the final pacification of this district might have been entrusted. But Hadrian passed him over, selecting for this task another of Trajan's generals, who indeed had been lately engaged also in hunting down rebel Jews nearer the scene of his new command, in Egypt and Cyrenaica. This was Quintus Marcius Turbo, a man trusted completely by the Emperor and completely also through many a long year justifying that trust. It was a good choice, though Hadrian found he had need of Turbo's help elsewhere before the work in Mauretania was done.[2]

But Quietus had been passed over, and in consequence he sulked. He had some additional reason for displeasure in that Hadrian called away some of the troops under his command, perhaps needing them for service under his rival Turbo, and these moreover were his own pet compatriot Moorish auxiliary regiments. The slight put upon him must seem intentional and quite beyond forgiveness. Perhaps too " the Moor " was more hot-tempered and resentful than a pure-blooded Roman would have been. For all that, it is an error to regard him as a black barbarian, a Roman Othello in his jealous disposition. But his jealousy did very soon bear evil fruit, both to him and to others. Even if Hadrian of set purpose ran the risk and provoked the wrath of Quietus with his eyes open, the event did justify his suspicions.[3]

In the spring of A.D. 118 the Emperor at last arrived in Rome, travelling, says his biographer, by way of Illyricum.[4] His first task in the capital was to celebrate Trajan's obsequies. Plotina, Matidia, and Attianus had already brought that Prince's ashes to Rome by sea, and he had been duly consecrated by the Senate. If his successor, as a story runs,[5] was apt to ascribe any acts of his own which were unpopular to Trajan's secret instructions

[1] Themistius, Or. XVI, p. 250.

[2] See below, p. 47. Turbo's full name was Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus : C.I.L. III, 1462.

[3] Schulz, who makes a long tale of this (pp. 35-36), interprets wrongly the one sentence in the *Vita* 5, 8, as showing that Quietus was governor of Mauretania at the time and was superseded by Turbo in that command. The words " Sublatis gentibus Mauris quos (*sic*) regebat " probably refer to some Moorish Ala or Alae which were part of the forces of Quietus in Judaea. Cf. Cagnat, L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique, pp. 45-46 ; Borghesi, Oeuvres I, 500-506 ; Prosop. Imp. Rom. sub. voc. ; P.-W., etc.

[4] I discuss the complicated question of Hadrian's movements in A.D. 117-118 in Appendix B. Dürr p. 16, takes him now for a flying visit to Palestine and Egypt on the strength of a chronology suggested by Epiphanius, De Pond. et Mens. 14, and Eusebius, which is neither probable nor indeed required by this in any case most trivial evidence. Cf. P.-W.

[5] *Vita* 9, 2.

(a tale both unlikely and ill-natured), at least he did not fail to pay grateful honours to his memory. Hadrian now celebrated a "Triumph" for the victories in the East in Trajan's name, refusing (and very rightly) that offered him on his own account by the obsequious Senate. Trajan's image rode upon the triumphal car through the streets of Rome. Annual games, called "The Parthian Games," were then first instituted and continued to be given for many years.[1] The theatre was fragrant with the many scents lavishly sprinkled about all its passages.

Then at the last, so said a famous tradition, Trajan's ashes were enclosed in a golden urn and placed in the pedestal of that glorious Column 128 feet high which he had erected five years before to commemorate his Dacian Wars. In the noisy crowded Piazza of to-day Trajan's Column still towers, sole unharmed relic of the Emperor's new Forum and its magnificent buildings. From its summit the bronze statue of Saint Peter, placed there in the year of the Spanish Armada, A.D. 1588, by Pope Sixtus V., looks down on a city ruled once more by King and not by Priest. But of the golden urn no one has known anything more to this day.[2]

Finally, upon the death of Plotina four years later in A.D. 122,[3] Hadrian erected a colossal Temple in honour of Trajan and that Empress, to the north of the column in Trajan's Forum. This he dedicated "Parentibus suis," with the mournful piety of a son sealing in stone the story of his adoption.

So we take leave of Trajan.

"Whose arch or pillar meets me in the face,
Titus or Trajan's? No—'tis that of Time:
Triumph, arch, pillar, all he doth displace
Scoffing; and apostolic statues climb
To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept sublime,

"Buried in air, the deep blue sky of Rome,
And looking to the stars: they had contain'd
A spirit which with these would find a home,
The last of those who o'er the whole earth reign'd,
The Roman globe, for after none sustain'd,
But yielded back his conquests:—he was more
Than a mere Alexander, and, unstain'd
With household blood and wine, serenely wore
His sovereign virtues—still we Trajan's name adore." [4]

[1] Cf. Stuart Jones, "Companion to Roman History," p. 352.

[2] Cf. Lanciani, who doubts the golden urn story ("Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome," p. 319). Ancient evidence, *Vita* 6, 1-3; 19, 5; Dio, 69, 2, 3. There seems no warrant for Byron's view that the ashes were on top of the column.

[3] See below, p. 50.

[4] Byron, "Childe Harold," IV, 110, 111.

§ 2. On the Danube Frontier

His tasks of piety performed, Hadrian had scarcely set himself to some needful measures for the financial rehabilitation of the Treasury when the arrival of grave news from the Danube called him there from Rome. Familiar as he was with this frontier, he judged that his own personal presence was required when the tidings came that the Sarmatians and the Roxolani were in arms against him.

" Sarmatian " was a vague term, applied to any wild northern tribe roaming in the vast unknown " back of beyond " which stretched north of Dacia eastwards towards the Crimea. The Roxolani were old disturbers of the Roman peace. Mailclad and impetuous horsemen, they had drifted westwards in the first century of our era from the steppes of Dnieper and of Don, and given no small trouble to the garrison of Lower Moesia on more than one occasion.[1] Upon his conquest and annexation of Dacia, Trajan had judged it best to pay to their King an annual subsidy, to secure the eastern frontier of his new province from the tribesmen's raids. This policy of subsidies to independent or semi-client border chiefs was already a tried expedient of Roman diplomacy. Domitian had quite recently adopted it in his handling of Decebalus, King of Dacia. But as the Romans found, and as the Government of India knows also but too well, the civilized Power and the uncivilized tribal chief tend to look at a subsidy differently. What to the former is evidence of some kind of control is to the latter proof of the dependence rather of the paymaster than of themselves. A subsidy is a sign of weakness.

The King of the Roxolani, Rasparaganus by name, now complained that " his pay had been cut down ". He may have thought that Trajan's death gave an admirable opportunity for a raid. It is also possible that Hadrian or his Governor in Moesia had been economizing. There seemed every likelihood of trouble on the Border.

But the new Emperor's measures were prompt and effective. The Moesian legions were at once mobilized,[2] and he himself hastened north to interview his barbarian " client prince ". To the latter's complaints he gave a patient hearing. This and the display of force proved enough. " Peace was restored." [3]

There seems to have been a curious sequel. King Rasparaganus is presently found living peacefully at Pola in Istria together

[1] Cf. e.g. Tacitus, " Histories," I, 79, and the inscription of Plautius Aelianus under Nero.

[2] " Praemissis exercitibus," *Vita* 6, 6, is of very dubious meaning. Cf. Dürr p. 20, and Filow, " Die Legionen der Provinz Moesien," ap. Klio, Beiheft, Leipzig, 1906, p. 67.

[3] Orosius VII, 13, 3, and Eusebius, Chron. II, pp. 164-165 (Schoene), regard this as a regular war. The *Vita* 6, 6-8, dismisses it briefly as a " tumultus ".

with his son and the royal household, rejoicing also in the Imperial names of Publius Aelius. Some think that Hadrian bestowed the Roman citizenship upon him (a somewhat sorry substitute for pay), and then promptly interned him in honourable exile at Pola, just as Augustus had placed banished German chieftains at Ravenna in old days. This may have been an excellent method of restoring peace. Perhaps however his indignant tribesmen expelled their King for his pusillanimity.[1]

In any case Hadrian's measures were successful. To ensure quiet on the border he made one temporary administrative change. He himself now found need to hasten back from the Danube to Rome. He therefore summoned Marcius Turbo, ever his loyal servant, from Mauretania and gave him an extraordinary command, that of Dacia with Pannonia added as well. Turbo was not of Senatorial rank. Hadrian therefore now bestowed upon him the title and honours reserved for one of the two highest posts of the other, the "Equestrian," career, those of the Prefecture of Egypt.[2] This arrangement lasted but a short while. Next year, A.D. 119, Turbo was recalled by the Emperor to Rome, and installed as Prefect of the Praetorian Guard in place of Attianus.[3] Hadrian had found a man whom he could trust, and the new Praetorian Prefect was indefatigable in discharge of his duties. Illness could not keep him from his work. "A Prefect must die standing," was his reply to Hadrian's anxious remonstrances on one such occasion.[4] From early morning till evening he was to be found giving judgment in his Court. No man was more thorough in the performance of a task. In the few months during which he held his extraordinary command upon the Danube he provided so admirably for the future that on his departure Hadrian could revert to the usual system of separate provincial governorships in Dacia and Pannonia without fear of further trouble. The Roman Colony of Sarmizegetusa paid Turbo special honours when he left Dacia.[5] And for the whole of the rest of Hadrian's reign peace brooded over the lower Danube.

The Emperor himself had been hastily summoned back to Italy in A.D. 118 by a gloomy incident, which cast a shadow over

[1] C.I.L. V, 32, 33. Cf. Mommsen ad loc.; Schiller p. 610; Dürr p. 20; P.-W., Schulz p. 39, is sceptical. The *Vita* knows nothing of the whole Pola episode.

[2] *Vita* 7, 3 (which must = 6, 7, one of the instances of the composite nature of this biography). The explanation given in the text seems the only sense to be made out of the confusing passage. Cf. Kornemann pp. 26-28; Bury p. 499; Schulz p. 39. But it remains far from satisfactory. Turbo can hardly have been actually called "Prefect of Egypt" in Dacia? Nor are we elsewhere told of any special insignia worn by this officer. The other "crown of the Equestrian career" is the Praetorian Prefecture, which Turbo was not given in 118 A.D. as Attianus was still then in office.

[3] See below for the resignation of the prefecture by Attianus, p. 49.

[4] Dio 69, 18, 3. The way in which "Quietus" and "Turbo" belied their names is a quaint freak of Latin nomenclature.

[5] C.I.L. III, 1462.

his reputation at the time, and this shadow has never wholly passed away. In his absence on the northern frontier there had been detected a dangerous conspiracy against him, the "Conspiracy of the four Consulars," and four of the leading Senators of the time had paid for the plot with their lives. Roman gossip laid their deaths to the charge of the absent ruler.

§ 3. The "Conspiracy of the Four Consulars"

Trajan's most famous generals, now placed, as it were, upon the retired list, had some reason for disliking his successor.

How had Hadrian earned his promotion to the Imperial dignity? Certainly by no very signal service in the wars of recent years. Men like Quietus had borne the burden and heat of the day. They had endured perils and hardships innumerable in the forest-clad mountains of Dacia, amid the sands and waterways of Eastern deserts, upon the caravan routes of Arabia. Hadrian's had been a comfortable civilian berth as governor at pleasure-seeking Antioch.

Their dead soldier Emperor had given Dacia to Rome and had filled the land with Roman settlers. In the clearings of the hills and forests the new farms multiplied. Wife and child gladdened the sight of the ex-service colonist in the homestead granted him in the new Roman land north of the Danube river. The new Emperor, men muttered, planned to surrender Dacia again to barbarism. What then would befall the settlers and their homes? What of their reliance upon Imperial promises and upon Roman strength?

Trajan had added the Orient to Rome's Empire. Hadrian's policy was quickly known. He would withdraw and cower again behind the old frontiers of Syrian desert and Euphrates. What of the Parthian, lately chased in despairing and precipitate flight, now openly again exultant?

Trajan's heir? Or a woman's nominee? Adopted by Trajan as he lay a'dying? Who believed this story? A consular of repute? Were there not many other such?

So Trajan's discarded generals, and others too, men of rank and honours, grumbled and "sowed nightmares".

Then came the plot.

"Very many," says the biographer, "were in the plot." But only the names of the four "consulars," the conspirators in chief, were ever known.

Lusius Quietus cherished his special reasons for anger against Hadrian.[1] Side by side with him in military repute stood Aulus Cornelius Palma, leader of the expeditionary force which in

[1] See above, p. 43.

A.D. 105-106 had annexed "Arabia" to the Roman Empire, consul also both before and since that his chief claim to fame.[1] Lucius Publilius Celsus was less noteworthy. He had been one of Trajan's close friends, and consul in A.D. 113.[2] Finally, there was Nigrinus.

Nigrinus was important enough to give his name to the conspiracy. Yet his very identity remains a puzzle. The plotter is supposed to have been Caius Avidius Nigrinus who was proconsul, probably of Achaea, under Domitian.[3] In this case he was at least fifteen or twenty years older than Hadrian himself, if indeed he were not already verging on the span of ordinary life. Doubtless if an old man of the kind hoped himself to take the place of a murdered Emperor, the sooner he set about that murder the better. A second Nigrinus seems at some time to have been a governor of Dacia. He is mentioned in a solitary inscription set up by an instructor of his cavalry bodyguard.[4] But this Nigrinus is by an expert described as a third century governor of Moesia. If both such identifications fail, the conspirator Nigrinus is known only in and by reason of the conspiracy.

What were the actual details of the plot? The information is quite hopelessly vague. The biographer says that Hadrian was to be slain as he was sacrificing; the Greek annalist substitutes "as he was hunting".[5] A modern writer cheerfully combines the two: "while sacrificing before setting out to hunt". Concerning place or time or the smallest detail of any other kind nothing whatever has been said.

This alone is known beyond all possibility of doubt, that during Hadrian's absence in Moesia the Senate issued orders for the slaying of the four consulars, Quietus, Palma, Celsus, and Nigrinus, and that forthwith slain they were. But they were put to death at widely separated places, Palma at Tarracina, Celsus at Baiae, Quietus "while on a journey," and Nigrinus in the north of Italy at Faventia, the pleasant little Tuscan city of Faenza, so well known to many a British officer. If this last town actually was the scene of Nigrinus' doom (and no variant is mentioned), the story of the plot becomes more perplexing than ever. It is easy else to suggest that some place on the Bay of Naples was the selected rendezvous for the four; that Palma and Quietus

[1] i.e. Arabia Petraea only: but it was a famous feat. [2] Dio 68, 16, 2.

[3] Pliny X, 65, 66; C.I.L. III, 567 = C.I.G. 1711. Cf. Mommsen ad loc. and Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, p. 188. The former doubts the identification with the conspirator. Cf. his Index to Keil's edition of Pliny.

[4] C.I.L. III, Suppl. 7904. Klebs, Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, No. 1170. This inscription of M. Calventius was found at Sarmizegetusa.

[5] Hence Casaubon would emend Dio's ἐν θήρᾳ to ἐν θυσίᾳ, "recte fortasse" (Boissevain). The modern writer is Von Premerstein. See note at end of chapter. Schiller p. 616, follows Dio.

were on the way to join Celsus when they were caught. But what then is Nigrinus doing in Tuscany? He becomes more mysterious than ever.

Was there really any conspiracy at all? Men angrily doubted it at the time. Was the whole just the figment of the imagination of the suspicious Praetorian Prefect Attianus? Had this anxious old man, disappointed of his earlier proposed victims,[1] fastened his grip on others during his master's absence, and persuaded a complacent or panic-stricken Senate to take time by the forelock, lest Hadrian should return in time to let this second batch of the Prefect's victims escape? Their wide separation too at the hour of their death, did it not prove their innocence? Or were they wildly fleeing in every direction for their lives? Or had they parted until the Emperor should return to avert suspicion, and thus given to the scepticism of posterity an argument which failed to save their own lives?

Men indeed both then and in later ages did judge the four consulars to be guiltless victims, and of a crafty Emperor.[2] Hadrian, hastening back to Rome from the Danube as soon as he heard of the Senate's action, found himself greeted with gloomy looks and mutterings of bitter wrath. Was it in this way that his promise to put no Senator to death was fulfilled? The Emperor protested most vigorously that he himself was entirely guiltless of the unfortunate issue of the plot.[3] He threw the whole responsibility for the execution of the consulars upon Attianus, whom he shortly afterwards removed from his office of Praetorian Prefect. This may have been intended to emphasize his displeasure at the Prefect's action in his absence. It does not appear that Hadrian ever denied the reality of the plot itself. He merely "took oath that he had not ordered the death" of the consulars. And Attianus was presently duly rewarded for his services as Prefect.[4]

Meanwhile the Emperor strove by every means to placate outraged feelings. In the Senate he solemnly reiterated his promise that no Senator should ever suffer death except at bidding of the Fathers themselves. He showered gifts of money broadcast on the populace. In six days' continuous gladiatorial shows and by the slaughter of a thousand beasts he might hope that the fate of the four consulars, whether guilty or innocent, would be forgotten.

Neither had the conspiracy any ill effect upon the Emperor's own character. Piso's plot had driven the nervous Nero into a

[1] See above, p. 41.

[2] E.g. Domaszewski p. 189, calls the execution of the consulars a "cold-blooded murder". The perplexities surrounding the plot do not justify so violent and hasty a judgment.

[3] This comes from his own Autobiography.

[4] See above, p. 14.

frenzy of panic and blood-lust. Hadrian took the whole tale of the plot against his life with a calmness akin to the famous remark of King Humbert of Italy: "These are the perquisites of the profession".[1] It was the slur on his reputation, not the risk to his life, which moved the Roman Emperor to indignation. Through all the remaining twenty years of his life, he showed no suspicion of any man, and no one, Senator or any other, suffered for treason, until the last few closing months of the reign. And then, when two of the Court nobility were supposed to have been executed at his command,[2] men shrugged their shoulders and whispered together, saying that Hadrian had done the like before. His evident guiltlessness of the death of the four consulars, the twenty intervening years of mercy and kindheartedness, all went for nothing. His "cruelty" became article of belief, and this all but cost him after his death his consecration as divine.[3] Trajan's two famous generals had their revenge at last.

§ 4. The Death of Plotina

The fate of the consulars may have given Hadrian annoyance rather than grief. The death of Plotina was a more intimate sorrow. This befel in the fifth year of his reign, when he was absent from Rome on his first western journey.[4] It may here complete the tale of the Emperor's early troubles.

The affection between the two, the "mother" and "adopted son" was of long standing. It is illustrated by three letters which have by chance been preserved. Two are in Latin, the first written by Plotina to Hadrian, the second his reply. The third, in Greek, from Plotina to friends in Athens, was a result of the two former. The correspondence, which is dated A.D. 121, the year before Plotina's death, is of curious, if not of unique, interest.[5]

Letter 1: *Plotina to Hadrian*

"Thou knowest well, my Lord, what is my favour towards the Sect of Epicurus. I pray thee to come now to its help in this matter of the succession to the Headship of the School. The

[1] It has been supposed that Hadrian first instituted the special Imperial Bodyguard of the "Equites Singulares" and because of the conspiracy. But this seems unlikely. Cf. Mommsen, Ges. Schr. V, 402-403; VI, 17-19; and ap. Hermes XVI, 459, note 2.

[2] Servianus and Fuscus. See below, Chapter XV, § 1.

[3] See below, Chapter XV, and for a discussion concerning Hadrian's supposed "crudelitas ingenita" (*Vita* 23, 7), ib.

[4] See below, p. 52.

[5] This correspondence, found at Athens, was published by H. Diels, in the "Archiv für Gesch. d. Philosophie" IV, pp. 486-491, Berlin, 1890. It is somewhat suggestive of Cicero's Letters concerning Patron's house.

rule as it now stands is that none but Roman citizens may be elected to the Headship. Hence the choice is narrowly limited.

"I pray therefore now on behalf of Popillius Theotimus, present Head of the School at Athens, that you will give him leave to give instructions in his Will in Greek concerning his successor and to nominate one who is not a Roman citizen. May all Heads in future also be allowed this same freedom of choice? There is all the more reason for this inasmuch as, if the testator ever makes a bad nomination, it is customary for the students of the School by general vote to choose instead the best candidate possible. This will be all the easier if their choice is no longer restricted as it is at present."

LETTER 2: *Hadrian to Plotina*

"I, Hadrian, Emperor, permit Popillius Theotimus to make provision in his Will in Greek in the matter of the succession to the Headship of the Sect of Epicurus. And, since it will be easier to select a successor if the choice be no longer restricted to Roman citizens, I give this freedom of choice to him and to all succeeding Heads."

LETTER 3

"From Plotina Augusta to all her friends—Greeting!

"We have what we were eager to obtain, leave for the Head of the Sect to regulate the succession by his Will in Greek, and to nominate anyone he likes, Greek or Roman, to the next Headship.

"For this most excellent permission we owe great thanks to our true benefactor, the Director-General of Education, our most august Emperor, and most dear in all respects to me both as my worthy Lord and as my own very dear son.

"It therefore behoves each one who may be entrusted with the decision concerning the Headship always to try to choose the best of his comrades in the Sect into his own place, and therewith to pay regard rather to the general good than to any private friendship.

"I therefore think that we ought . . ."

[*The letter here breaks off.*]

Plotina's anxiety for the welfare of the Epicurean School of philosophy at Athens is obviously very genuine. Hers is no exercise of a merely formal patronage. When the third letter so unfortunately breaks off she was surely about to suggest to Theotimus the name of a suitable successor, who, it may be concluded, was *not* a Roman citizen and *not* his personal friend. The rule restricting the choice to Roman citizens, which Hadrian

here relaxes in favour of the Epicureans, seems to have remained in force in the appointment of a Rector for the other three rival schools of philosophy at Athens, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and the Academicians. To this extent the Government controlled "University elections". The right of the students of the College to set aside a nomination of which they disapproved is noteworthy. The question of the validity of a Will when written in Greek and not in Latin is of smaller interest.

Soon after this correspondence Plotina died. Hadrian mourned for her sincerely. He praised her memory, saying "She asked of me many things and I granted her all her requests. For never did she pray me for any boon either hard for me to give or right for me to refuse." The news of her death reached him in Provence, and he at once gave orders for the building at Nîmes of a temple or Basilica in her honour which should be "a wonderful work". For nine days he went clad in black, and wrote hymns in memory of "her to whom he owed the Empire". "She loved him very dearly," adds the historian.[1]

NOTE TO § 3

New Light on the Conspiracy?

To the ancient evidence of the *Vita* 7, 1-3; 9, 3; and Dio 69, 2, 5-6, the misguided ingenuity of a German has recently added a third and a contemporary (!) source. On it he writes at enormous length, and the result is chaotic. Cf. A. von Premerstein, "Das Attentat der Konsulare auf Hadrian," Leipzig, 1908, p. 85; published as a Beiheft to "Klio," No. 8.

This supposed new source is an Arabian version of a treatise on Physiognomy. Its Greek author was a well-known sophist of Hadrian's day (A.D. 87-143), Polemo "of Smyrna," or, more properly, of Laodicea (cf. Philostratus, Vit. Soph., pp. 530-544). The German gives the Arabian text in a Latin version by G. Hoffmann, which I translate. The Greek original is lost.

The sophist is arguing that small deep-sunken eyes are a sign of bad character. To prove this, he cites the example of a man (unnamed) who had such eyes, with shaggy eyebrows, and a livid colour round them as of a bruise. This man, says Polemo, was an impudent seditious fellow, a scoundrel who always did hurt to his comrades, a drunkard and a roysterer, of whom all went in terror. He plotted against "the King". Then Polemo proceeds to tell the tale of the plot as follows:

"I was a companion of the great King, and on the journey from Thrace † to Asia this fellow joined himself to the troops and ships which were escorting the King. We passed by many towns and came to the sea. The King then visited Ionia † and Lesbos † and the regions of Lydia and Phrygia and many places besides. Thereafter we came back to Asia by way of the islands in the sea, and he arrived at Rhodes.† Thence he took ship to Mysia,† and on this journey vessels began to meet the King.

[1] Dio 69, 10, 3; cf. *Vita* 12, 2. Hadrian's fragmentary "laudatio Matidiae" (C.I.L. XIV, 3579: see above, p. 25) has somewhat similar praise (v. 27-30).

" So when we had come to Asia, I paid a visit to the fellow. There he was with his comrades standing armed around the King, not to do honour to the King thereby, nor because he was well-disposed towards the King, but with the intent that he might do the King hurt, and carry out those evil devisings of his which gave him no rest. Moreover he had companions in his villainy, of whom he was the head and master.

" While such was our state, the King was busy making ready, purposing to go a'hunting, insomuch that we had no opportunity to talk with him. Then I and my companions sate down and held much converse together concerning the King, in what evil plight he was, and how far he was removed from that pleasurable way of life such as men were wont to say that the King enjoyed. And as our talk went forward, we made mention also of that fellow, marvelling at his wickedness and rascality, and verily of that perseverance of soul whereby he pursued continually after evil.

" While we were yet in talk together, lo ! from out of the midst of the trees there came one to our sight, and in great panick of terror we lifted up our eyes to behold him. Behold, it was that same wretch of whom we were speaking one to the other. Stealthily he had crept in upon us like a snake, to overhear our talk.

" ' All your conversation,' said he, ' was of nothing save concerning me.'

" ' In truth,' I made answer, ' we made mention of you and were marvelling at your state. Come now, tell us your own tale, how you have laid this toil upon yourself, and endure such buffetings of soul.'

" When he heard these words, he made confession, saying :

" ' Assuredly it is a devil's work, and a devil's is the most accursed plan whereof he is the contriver in my soul.'

" Forthwith he began to weep bitterly for himself, crying out ' Ah, woe is me, for I am undone ! '

" This then (concludes Polemo) is what I have seen concerning small deep-sunken eyes."

Thus far the tale. Then follows the German's interpretation of its riddle. The Arabic names of places indeed are baffling. Where e.g. were Qwrnyn, Brâga, Iûn, Anîs, Alsvûs ? Hence he offers his identifications marked † above with some diffidence.

But in the case of the dramatis personae he walks confidently. The King is Hadrian. The villain is not Nigrinus, for the latter was probably a good-featured Italian. Quietus, a Moor, a barbarian condottiere, he must be the villain. The small sunken eyes suit an African (" compare Caracalla "), the restlessness an adventurer, the drunkenness a boon companion of Trajan. He hails from " Qwrnyn ". This must be Arabic for Furni, a village fifty kilometres from Carthage. The King's " evil plight " suits well the difficulties of the first year of Hadrian's reign. We get fresh light thrown on his movements during it.

From Syria Hadrian proceeds first to the Danube. From the Danube he goes voyaging up and down the coast of Asia, " 2300 kilometres by land, 1650 by sea ". In Mysia he goes hunting, on the slopes of Ida. The *Vita* has confused this with Moesia. In Mysia is the scene of the plot, and not in Rome or Italy. Hadrian has sent for the four consulars to join him in his Asiatic voyagings. He knows their evil purpose. He will destroy them when he has the chance. Meanwhile he drags them about with him, sorry objects of mockery to his loyal courtiers. No wonder that Quietus weeps !

Opportunity secretly to dispose of them in Asia is lacking. He dismisses the four conspirators to Italy when he himself returns yet again to the Danube. But he sends his orders to Attianus. The Prefect despatches executioners, who slay the men wherever these have the luck to find them.

But these " judicial murders " rouse a passionate anger at Rome on which Hadrian had not calculated. At last, for the first time since his accession, he is compelled to hasten to the city, where he does his best to disarm resentment, etc., etc. To this effect the German's lengthy pamphlet, solemn and laborious. At what in this whole " reconstruction " may we chiefly wonder ? At the cock-and-bull story as a whole, or at incidents in it ? Perhaps at Hadrian's " Rundreise " (and before he ever visits Rome !) ? At his hunting on many-fountained Ida ? The mastery after all may rest with Polemo. The villain's remorse when " the devil entered into him " needs no Moor to make the picture perfect.

It is clear that Major Joseph Bagstock, " with his complexion like a stilton cheese and his eyes like a prawn's," [1] possessed, physiognomically, some moral advantages.

[1] Dombey and Son.

CHAPTER IV

POLICY, FINANCE, AND THE OFFICIAL CLASSES

§ 1. Hadrian's Peace Policy.
§ 2. The Emperor and Public Finance.
§ 3. Hadrian and the Equestrian Class.
§ 4. Hadrian and the Senatorial Class.

[Notes to § 2:
A. The Fifteen-year Tax-cycle and the remission of Tax-arrears.
B. The "Cursus Publicus".]

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. Hadrian's Peace Policy

LITTLE of interest, little of excitement, little, it might seem, worthy of record happened after Hadrian's second return to Rome in the autumn of A.D. 118 for some years. How drab life may be, even for an Emperor! Yet it was during this period that he made good his policy of peace abroad and financial adjustment at home. The Roman world was weary, and in sore lack of rest and of recuperation after Trajan's strenuous activities. It had now found a ruler who would care for these, its less ambitious, needs.

Then presently Hadrian cast loose the shackles which fastened him to Rome. Whether in some spirit of joyous adventure, or in a mood of reaction from the monotony of administration, or again in the faithful discharge of his duty to the Empire as he realized this, the Emperor left Rome and Italy, and began his long series of travels round the many lands which owned his sway, travels which lasted till within a few years of his death. Thus he "harnessed himself to the world's weight". At last he came home again, his journeys ended, there to enjoy life daintily, to build, to play with art and letters, to seek quiet and recreation this time for himself. Not to many men when on the threshold of old age is it given to preserve the hidden enthusiasms of youth when they must sacrifice the activities of manhood.

On his second return to Rome as Emperor Hadrian quickly made it plain that he intended to ensure peace abroad even at the price of conquest. He abandoned all Trajan's acquisitions beyond the old Roman eastern frontier. Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Parthia, these figured no longer as booty or as provinces of Rome. The King of Kings, newly restored to his Parthian throne at Ctesiphon at the expense of Trajan's puppet nominee, discovered neither reason nor desire which might make him challenge Rome's strength again in war. There was long peace on the border.[1]

Should he also evacuate Dacia? For some time, it seems,

[1] *Vita* 5, 1-4; 9, 1; Dio 68, 33; Eutropius VIII, 6; Fronto p. 206 (ed. Naber). For a discussion of Hadrian's eastern policy, see below, Chapter X, § 1.

Hadrian hesitated, half planning to give up this other chief glory of Trajan's wars. But the circumstances on Danube and Euphrates were very different. The retention of Dacia was no standing provocation or menace to some great jealous potentate. It might mean peace rather than an endless series of disturbances on the northern river. Dacia, thrust forward like some gigantic protecting bastion, guaranteed to the old-established Roman provinces south of the Danube a security to which they had long been strangers. And there were other reasons besides for keeping the great land. Hadrian was moved especially by the thought of the many families of Roman settlers who had within the last twelve years taken firm root in the new soil whence Trajan had evicted the old barbarian inhabitants. The Emperor could not play the settlers false. He listened to the earnest remonstrances of his friends, Turbo perhaps foremost among them. His fiat went forth. Dacia should still be held. And for many a long year to come Roman civilization pushed up into the mountains and the forests where Roumania to-day, by her proud traditions and her very name, claims lineage from the Empire.[1]

Arabia Petraea was also retained, and developed its prosperity quietly.

But the whole problem of frontier defence began to weigh heavily upon the new Emperor at Rome. As soon as might be, he would himself visit these far lands and make decision on the spot. But first he must order things rightly in the homeland.

Peace and retrenchment once walked hand in hand together. One inspiring motive of Hadrian's peace policy was his care for the financial situation, which now peace alone could save.

§ 2. The Emperor and Public Finance

At Trajan's death the finances of Rome seem to have been in a confused, if not a desperate, state.[2] During the twenty or more years preceding it, there had been a long succession of furious and distant wars, with but brief intervals of peace. The price for security and for foreign conquest was paid in men and money. And the men themselves cost the money.

For the ordinary sources of revenue for Rome were not greatly disturbed by wars beyond her borders. Of trade likely to feel their ill effects there existed little or none to bring grist to the Roman mill. Rome never paid her way by manufactures or by an export trade. If there were riots or worse within her borders

[1] Cf. Eutropius VIII, 6, 2. The famous story in Dio 68, 13, that Hadrian planned to destroy Trajan's bridge over the Danube is considered below. See Chapter IX, § 3.

[2] *Vita* 6, 5.

these were indeed a serious matter. The recent Jewish insurrections and devastations in rich provinces did threaten serious financial loss. For the Treasury's chief revenue was derived from the universal land and property taxes levied in the provinces. Such Jewish rebelliousness must therefore be dealt with very firmly.[1]

But if Trajan's foreign wars threatened the Roman State with bankruptcy, as Hadrian on his accession feared, the cause was rather the increased expenditure than diminished revenue. For this expenditure the Army and its requirements in men, equipment, and pensions, were almost wholly responsible. The Roman Government spent little on the Navy, practically nothing upon "Social Services," not one penny on foreign or domestic loans. The increase of army expenditure under Trajan was both a main reason for and a justification of his successor's peace policy. That in spite of rigorous economy Hadrian, a strict disciplinarian also, retained and increased the affection felt for him by the Army is a great tribute alike to his sagacity and to his unfailing care for the comfort of his soldiers.[2]

The Emperor early in his reign discoursed with eloquence to the Senate concerning the distresses and the embarrassments of the State Treasury, the "Aerarium". By the most ancient tradition it was the Senate's duty to exercise supervision over this. Of the needs of the second, and more important, Chest, the Fiscus, he seems to have been silent. Its administration was wholly a matter for the Prince. But as the main bulk of military expenditure was defrayed by the Fiscus, the latter must also have given the Imperial financier concern. Hadrian is said to have directed as close a scrutiny to public accounts as ever any head of a household to the details of his family budget.[3] He is called "most diligent regarding the Treasury".[4] He summoned no Committèe of Business Men to his aid. So far as public finance was dependent upon public policy, he controlled the latter, and peace for this Roman Emperor meant economy and not extravagance. The Treasury, whether the Senate's or his own, should tolerate no waste.

The result seems to us surprising. In spite of his grave warnings concerning the condition of public finance, Hadrian seems to have been convinced by his own careful study of the situation that there was no real cause for alarm. So long as peace should be maintained, and upon this he was firmly resolved, he could indulge even a taste for generosity without financial risk. It is likely indeed that he stressed intentionally the Exchequer

[1] See below, Chapter XIII.
[2] See below, Chapter XI, § 1.
[3] *Vita* 20, 11.
[4] Eutropius VIII, 7, 2.

difficulties in order to reconcile Rome to the peace policy which, however unpopular in itself, promised to save money.[1]

No new taxes were imposed. No old taxes were increased. As a temporary subvention to the struggling public Treasury the Emperor paid into it the confiscated wealth of the consulars executed for conspiracy against him. Such windfalls belonged by right to the Imperial privy purse. But on this occasion Hadrian waived his claim.[2] In another matter also he bestowed some small relief upon the taxpayer at his own personal cost. It was the custom for both Italy and the provinces to make presents to every new Prince upon his accession to power. Such gifts, which clearly were compulsory, went by the name of "Coronation Gold"—Aurum coronarium. Hadrian now refused to receive it from Italy and reduced the amount of it levied upon the provincials.[3]

Neither did the standard of coinage suffer as a result of the recent wars. A new and a graceful type was presently issued, and the mint was placed in charge of a special procurator of equestrian rank.[4] Hadrian was no Nero, to provide money for the indulgence of extravagant generosities by a debasement of the Roman coinage.

In effect, the Emperor relied exclusively on peace and upon a strict administrative control, to produce and to preserve, if not a large accumulated balance, yet a financial equilibrium of such a character that he was presently able to make a display of generosity upon a striking scale. His "Remission of Debts" was a public function stage-managed with great skill and gained for him a popularity which was enthusiastic if only temporary. Reflection indeed showed that the actual loss to the Imperial Exchequer might be apparent rather than real.

Hadrian's inspection of the State finances had revealed to him an item in the balance sheet upon the Assets side which he resolved to tolerate no longer. This item was the familiar one of "Outstanding Debts". Arrears in the payment of taxes had been accumulating for a long period of years. The debtors were found impartially in Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces. The debts in the year A.D. 118 amounted to the huge total of nine hundred million sesterces, some eight million pounds sterling. Recovered or recoverable they were not. But they were solemnly carried

[1] Schiller p. 621.

[2] *Vita* 7, 7. For the conspiracy, see above, Chapter III, § 3. [3] *Vita* 6, 5.

[4] For Hadrian's coinage, see the flowery and enthusiastic article by Laffranchi in the "Rivista Italiana di Numismatica" for 1906, which has two excellent plates of the coin types. The "new type" of the bare head instead of the testa radiata is ascribed to A.D. 128. But Laffranchi has to follow Eckhel and Cohen in deploring that the coins, "impenetrably secret," refuse to date themselves (p. 356). Cf. also P.-W., Stuart Jones, "Companion to Roman History," p. 343; Cohen 963-978.

forward from year to year as an asset on the credit side of the budget. Now at one stroke Hadrian cancelled the whole. With a fine sense of dramatic opportunity he had the records burnt publicly in Trajan's Forum. Who would not rejoice at such a spectacle, unless there were those who had paid their taxes honestly year by year and now found reason for regret thereat ? But even such might reflect that a clean sheet would in future be kept clean.

This public remission of debts owed to the Treasury created a great stir. Hadrian found himself popular at last. It created a precedent as well. Sixty years later, in A.D. 178, Marcus Aurelius, on returning to Rome after eight years' absence spent in frontier wars, followed Hadrian's example by a like remission, and he too burnt the records in the market place.[1]

For the clean sheet could not after all be kept clean. Arrears of taxes accumulated once more. Hadrian indeed had foreseen this. He ordained that a general financial scrutiny should be held once every fifteen years. This interpretation of the very confused ancient evidence has been doubted. The Emperor, it has been held by some, now fixed a " Fifteen-year Tax Cycle " in place of the Five-year Cycle hitherto customary. That is, any alteration in the amount or the incidence of taxation was to be considered only after so long an interval. This seems in itself unlikely. It would hardly evoke gratitude from the taxpayer, however welcome might be the certainty implied by such a measure. For it is human nature to be deluded by vain hopes, to look for a lightening of the burden of taxation rather than to anticipate an increase of the evil. To have hopes as well as fears rendered impossible for fifteen years even a Roman taxpayer might think a doubtful boon. Doubtless, if Hadrian set himself to stabilize finance, such a Fifteen-years' Taxation Cycle was a reckoning on a truly Imperial scale. But would so prudent and so careful a financier as the Emperor choose to mortgage a future so long ahead ? [2]

Whatever may be the truth of this matter, there is no doubt that arrears of taxes of an impressive amount were cancelled in A.D. 118. Even if there was not the slightest chance of their recovery by the Treasury, this was a " magnificent gesture " on the part of the Emperor. Other thoughts must be provoked as well by the incident. So " colossal " [3] a sum of debts proves not so much the expensiveness of war in Roman times as the hopelessly casual financial administration of the last few years. Vespasian's thrifty ways had indeed been lamentably neglected. If the new Emperor was bent on administrative reform, there was urgent need for this.

[1] Dio 71, 32, 2. [2] See Note A at end of this chapter. [3] Schiller.

One charming comment upon Hadrian's action has come down to us from times, far later indeed than his own, and yet remote from modern days in date if not in spirit. "Hadrian preferred children to taxes," remarked Saint Jerome.[1] The Christian Saint may have misread the effusive vote of thanks which the "Senate and the People of Rome" paid to the Emperor on this occasion.[2] Or he may have applied this, a known, saying of Hadrian's to the wrong occasion.[3] At least the ancient Father of the Church does not seem to hold a view which has obtained much favour, the belief that since the poorer the parents are so the more numerous are the offspring, a State which actually desires swarms of children should increase its taxes and multiply its slums.

One other financial measure of reform by Hadrian claims notice. It has been unduly exaggerated, and indeed in itself concerned but a minor grievance. Yet it is just such minor matters which make a discontented "electorate". Postal charges are a familiar and an old example. So also are local rates.

Augustus had instituted an Imperial Courier service along the main "arterial" roads of the Roman Empire. To call this, the "Cursus publicus," a Postal service is usual, and indeed public despatches were carried by it. The couriers may also have taken private letters, as a matter of arrangement or goodwill. Relays of post-horses were ready for them at fixed stages along the roads.

The whole burden of the upkeep of this service was at first imposed upon the municipalities through whose districts the couriers travelled. At this there was much grumbling. Why should a few unlucky townships have to pay locally for what was essentially a "national" service? Moreover, "free travel tickets"—diplomata—were bestowed by Imperial favour not only on the postal messengers, but on Imperial servants and even private travellers as well. This was a system at least open to abuse. But the local incidence of the Postal charges was the chief cause of complaint.

The obvious remedy might seem to be to transfer the whole cost to the Imperial Treasury, i.e. from rates to taxes. Nerva had gone so far in this direction as to relieve the favoured land of Italy from these charges. Now Hadrian, some maintain, gave also to the provinces this same relief. It was a concession "well befitting the great traveller".[4]

But the later history of the Imperial Postal service makes this interpretation of the wretched scrap of evidence vouchsafed by Hadrian's biographer[5] a doubtful one. It is not easy to withdraw

[1] Ap. Eusebius, Chron. II, p. 165 (Schoene).
[2] See Note A at end of this chapter.
[3] See below, Chapter XIII, § 4.
[4] Hirschfeld. See Note B at end of chapter.
[5] *Vita* 7, 5, where the variant "statim" for "statum" is no help.

a boon once granted. Yet the burden of local rates for the Post reappears after Hadrian's death. Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus both promise some relief. Their efforts were ineffectual. To writers of the fourth century the Post is still " a pest," which afflicts with its cost the countryside. All rates are pests. This rate seemed to remain an unfair pest. The Treasury paid neither proportional grant nor block grant to lighten its incidence.

It may even be the case that Hadrian took no other step in this matter than to staff the " Central Post Office " at Rome more effectively. In this case his measure of reform was that of the bureaucrat rather than of the traveller.[1]

Here in fact there comes to light a feature of Hadrian's administration which may well provoke criticism rather than praise. " Avait la manie," says a French writer, " de tout réglementer." [2] This charge is a true one. Even a German murmurs that under this Emperor " Ordnung " replaced " Freiheit ".[3] In financial administration this tendency towards " centralization " is clearly visible. There was a very useful tax of five per cent on inheritances paid by all Roman citizens, the Roman equivalent of our own Death Duties. Hitherto its collection had, after the old-fashioned method, been entrusted to tax-farmers who purchased beforehand in competition the right and thus speculated on making a profit out of the amount eventually raised. Now Hadrian appointed special procurators directly as collectors of this tax throughout the Empire. This involved an increase of the clerical staff of the Imperial Treasury at Rome.[4]

Now too for the first time a new official makes his ominous appearance. A special Treasury Advocate—advocatus fisci—is appointed to plead the cause of the Treasury against individual offenders in the Courts. This meant another permanent staff and still more salaries.[5] And, as will be seen, it was not only at the Treasury, but throughout the whole of the Imperial Civil Service that Hadrian increased the numbers of his officials, extended their duties, very definitely raised their status, and, presumably, their pay as well.

On the horizon of efficiency there is always brooding the

[1] See Note B at the end of this chapter.

[2] Duruy IV, p. 384.

[3] Herzog p. 366.

[4] The " procuratores XX hereditatum ". This is an indirect argument only from the increasing frequency of their appearance in inscriptions. Cf. Herzog p. 363; Hirschfeld pp. 99-105 and 114-116. Dio's remark about the restriction imposed on the purchase of taxes by " Senators "—69, 16—clearly concerns Athenian and not Roman Senators. So Dürr p. 4. Schiller p. 620, curiously makes it apply to the latter.

[5] *Vita* 20, 6. Cf. Schurz pp. 25-27; Hirschfeld p. 49. Nerva instituted a Praetor fiscalis to hear such cases. Afterwards he seems to disappear and they may have come before the Praefecti Aerarii Saturni (?). Schiller pp. 620-621. dwells at great length upon Hadrian's financial measures and may exaggerate their importance. There exists no evidence concerning the amount of salary paid the official.

black cloud of bureaucracy. Hadrian had a passion for efficiency. That the bureaucracy, that greatest of curses,[1] began to multiply under him, is clear. It was the beginning of the heyday for Officialdom under the early Empire. The vultures of a swollen Civil Service were fastening upon Rome, though under Hadrian they were scarcely more than newly fledged.

§ 3. Hadrian and the Equestrian Class

The Imperial Civil Service consisted of men whom the Roman Emperor himself appointed to assist him in the regular discharge of the many duties of administration and government which appertained to the Prince. It stood side by side with the old State service of " Republican " magistrates and ex-magistrates, to whom the higher executive, military, and provincial commands were still entrusted. This latter service was the exclusive prerogative of the Senatorial class, which looked upon its younger brother with some suspicion and hostility. But the growth of this new Imperial Civil Service was an inevitable consequence of the constitution of the Principate.

It came into existence quietly enough and developed almost surreptitiously. The portion of the administration of the Empire which fell to the Emperor's share might be regarded as part of his domestic duties. Augustus unobtrusively employed his own household freedmen to fill most of the posts in the Imperial secretariate. The growth of the importance and of the power of such freedmen—often men of marked ability—was inevitable under the circumstances. The Emperor Claudius owed much of his unpopularity with the Senatorial class in Rome to his obvious reliance upon his freedmen and to his inability to check their pretensions, which became intolerable. This despised class in Roman society began to make a vaunting display of its influence, its wealth, and its greed.

There was one obvious remedy, to deprive the freedmen of these administrative functions, and to bestow the latter upon a class far higher in the public esteem. Such a class was the " Equestrian," second only to the Senatorial class itself in tradition, wealth, and dignity.

This transfer was not effected with any undue haste. It took a century and a half to carry out in its entirety. The fat gluttonous Emperor Vitellius first thought seriously about it.[2] Domitian expedited it.[3] It was Hadrian who first made it a

[1] In his recent Inaugural Lecture the present Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, Prof. H. Stuart Jones, dwells with emphasis upon this topic.

[2] Tacitus, Histories I, 58. Probably this went no further than a proclamation at Cologne.

[3] Suetonius, Domitian, 7. So Titinius Capito is " Ab epistulis " under him: C.I.L. VI, 798. Thus the *Vita* 22, 8, " Ab epistulis et a libellis *primus* equites Romanos habuit " (of Hadrian) is not strictly accurate.

general rule that the higher posts in the Imperial service, especially the great secretariates, should always be filled by the Equestrian class, the so-called " Knights ".[1]

For freedmen indeed he had no particular love. It is possible that he suffered under their insolence when he was a boy, inconspicuous and unregarded. When the boy became the Emperor, he " kept his freedmen most straitly in their place ". If, said he, those of earlier Princes had been unduly overbearing, this was their masters' own fault. Once he saw a freedman of his own walking familiarly between two Senators. Straightway he sent a servant to deal the fellow " a good hard knock ". " Share not their walk," he said, " whose slave you yet may be." [2] And the Emperor always thought poorly of any man who failed to keep his household under due order and discipline.[3] The freedmen, his own included, should be kept humble.

Others then must discharge their important duties in the Imperial service. Their place was filled by the " Knights ". Hadrian added to the number of posts in his service and increased the honours of the Equestrian class. He took " Knights " to be members of his own Privy Council.[4] He gave them a title of their own. By the end of the first century of our era the Senator had acquired an official title of honour, that of " Vir clarissimus ". Hadrian bestowed upon the " Knight " a cognate distinction, the title of " Vir eminentissimus ".[5] The most important post in the whole " Equestrian " career now came to be that of the Prefect of the Praetorian Guard. Under Hadrian this officer certainly enjoyed enhanced prestige if not any very definite increase of powers.[6] For as the Prefect discharged many of the Emperor's duties at home in the latter's absence, Hadrian's protracted travels naturally added to the temporary importance of his representative.

[1] *Vita* 22, 8. Hirschfeld gives a long list of these Equestrian Offices, and modern writers have spent much time on the topic. Cf. Schiller pp. 619-628, who exaggerates badly and very unduly post-dates the existence of procurators and prefects; Bury pp. 510-511, who relies too much on Schiller. It is to be noted that the " Scrinium a memoria," perhaps one of Hadrian's new creations, was given to a freedman up to the days of Alexander Severus. Cf. Hirschfeld pp. 334, 335. For the " A diplomatibus " see note at end of chapter.

[2] *Vita* 21, 2, 3. [3] " Sententiae," § 6. [4] See below, p. 68.

[5] Hirschfeld, " Beamten," p. 451. This delicate distinction recalls the formula of the Oxford Degree ceremony: " Insignissime Vice Cancellarie Vosque, egregii Procuratores ". This last laughter-provoking epithet was a favourite with the serious Marcus Aurelius.

[6] Bury p. 511, exaggerates. There is no evidence that " the power of the praetorian prefect is recognized under Hadrian in quite a new way," or that his importance was " first openly recognized under Hadrian ". For his extensive powers under Septimius Severus cf. Platnauer's Life of that Emperor, p. 175 sqq. But that the extensive legal knowledge then required of the Prefect as " supreme judge of appeal " goes back to Hadrian is unlikely. Only " Sententiae," § 7, gives some hint of this, apart from Turbo's activity in the office.

From this time on, the Equestrian Civil Service was recognized as " eminent ". It is not unlikely that its increased dignity did serve to emphasize the " monarchical " aspect of the Principate. For the " Knights " in the service of the Prince were under his absolute control.[1] It cannot be shown that this was Hadrian's primary intention. What the employment by him of the Equestrian class does clearly mean is that he was resolved to be well served by a superior class of officials. This, it might be hoped, implied efficiency. And the Emperor's organization lasted unchanged in its essentials for the next century and a half. It was under the maniac Heliogabalus that freedmen again found their way into offices now closed by Hadrian to them. The Antonines made no vital changes in the system as they found it working. Their régime has indeed been condemned as " most poor in fruitful ideas despite the personal distinction of the monarchs ".[2] But the idea of altering Hadrian's administrative system might have been fruitful of ill rather than of good. There had been a famous old Republican tradition that all State service should go unpaid. A salaried Civil Service, the creation of the Principate, was never likely to revert to this obsolete ideal.

The actual names of a few only out of the many hundred officers of Hadrian's service are preserved, and of these only the Praetorian Prefects are of interest. In the beginning of his reign the Emperor made a double change in the holders of this Prefecture. Turbo replaced Attianus, as has been seen,[3] and continued to command the Guard for many years. The colleague of Attianus had been Caius Sulpicius Similis. Hadrian accepted his resignation, it seems at the same time as that of Attianus, and nominated Caius Septicius Clarus, a friend of the younger Pliny, to take his office. It is a shallow view which charges Hadrian with ingratitude, accusing him of " removing from the prefecture the men to whom he owed the Empire ".[4] To Attianus, as has been seen,[5] he gave " the highest honours in his power ". And Sulpicius Similis certainly bore the Emperor no ill will for his retirement into private life. Similis had exchanged the Prefecture of Egypt for that of the Praetorians with reluctance under Trajan. Now he resigned the higher office with alacrity. Seven more years of life were to be his lot. He spent them joyfully in a quiet country retreat. When he died he left instructions for his own epitaph : " Here lies Similis, an old man, who has lived seven years ". From the days when as a young centurion he had spoken his mind frankly to Trajan, he

[1] Cf. Herzog p. 365 ; Schiller p. 627.

[2] Cf. Hirschfeld pp. 479, 480. Victor, Epit. II, " hodie perseverat " is " etwas uebertrieben " (P.-W.).

[3] See above, p. 46. [4] *Vita* 9, 6. [5] See above, p. 14.

was candid and fearless.[1] There is no reason to suppose that such qualities in a Prefect were irksome to Hadrian. But both Similis and Attianus were advancing in years, and the new Emperor wanted new blood in the highest executive office of his own service. If a few years later Septicius Clarus proved an unfortunate choice, Sabina's indiscretion may have been the cause.[2]

§ 4. Hadrian and the Senatorial Class

The execution of the four consulars had earned for Hadrian a "most melancholy reputation" among the members of the Senatorial class. This "tristissima opinio" was probably quite undeserved by him.[3] But outraged sentiment needed careful handling. The rise of the Equestrian class had left to the Senators their practical monopoly of the old-established executive offices untouched. It was not the trust reposed by the Emperor in the "Knights" which kindled the resentment of the highest class in the State.[4] But the violent deaths of men their peers and comrades provoked in the Senators feelings both of insecurity and of wrath.

There is a favourite modern view that Hadrian was hostile to the Senate; that he "worked towards the political annihilation"[5] of that Body; that "the underlying plan of all his activity was war with the Senate".[6] The effect indeed of his long absences from Rome may have been inactivity on the part of that Council of State. Apart from this, there is little or no evidence to warrant the modern view.

In legislation the Prince had always enforced his will for more than a century past. His own "Constitutions" ranked equally with Senatorial Decrees. Both had the force of statute law. But the Senate of the Empire would pass no decree without the approval of the Prince. All such decrees came to be initiated by him, and presently the jurists are found at times to quote the Imperial speech which introduces a decree rather than the decree itself as the source of law. This development seems to date from Hadrian's reign.[7] But it marked no real change in the Emperor's

[1] Similis: Dio 68, 18, 1; 19, 1, 2. Cf. Bury p. 496, who connects the change in appointment with Hadrian's coming travels. There is no clear evidence as to its precise date.

[2] Septicius Clarus: cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. III, p. 201; Pliny, Ep. I, 1, etc. He obtained the office of "Ab epistulis" from Hadrian for Suetonius, who suitably dedicated his "Lives of the Caesars" to Clarus in return. (Cf. Lydus, De mag. 2, 6, p. 171, ed. Bonn, and P.-W.) The two were involved in disgrace together. See above, p. 23.

[3] See above, pp. 49-50.

[4] A view held by Herzog pp. 364-365; Bury p. 311; etc.

[5] Bury p. 512.

[6] Hitzig. Herzog p. 360 disbelieves in any such "einheitlicher Plan".

[7] So Hitzig, and Sohm, "Institutes," pp. 106-107.

control of Senatorial legislation, which in fact was absolute from the earliest days of the Principate.

The significance also of Hadrian's use of his " Privy Council " has been misread. This Council was organized by that Emperor as a standing advisory committee in cases of Imperial jurisdiction. It was not a new Cabinet deciding political matters which otherwise would have been debated in the Senate. The germs of such a political Cabinet indeed had existed from the days of Augustus. But Hadrian's new " Consilium " was of a quite different stamp. It was called into being to advise the Emperor in his judicial decisions.

This Imperial Legal Council consisted of Senators, Knights, and also of certain of those learned jurisconsults, men such as Juventius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus and the like, who added lustre to Hadrian's reign. To the administration, the interpretation, and the development of Roman Law such a Body doubtless made valuable contributions. But there is no obvious encroachment here upon Senatorial privileges. Without the Emperor's presence the Council had neither powers nor, indeed, existence. It did not represent, it merely assisted, the Imperial jurisdiction, rights possessed by the Prince since the earliest days of the Empire. For all his nominations to the Council Hadrian was careful to obtain the approval of the Senate. The coveted honour of belonging to these " Consiliarii Augusti " was enjoyed by many Senators. The Councillors shared the Emperor's labours of jurisdiction alike in Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces. They accompanied him on his travels for the purpose. Later in the century they were paid a salary.[1] Hadrian's Senate is not likely to have seen in the creation of this Council that wily advance by the Prince towards Autocracy which modern commentators discover in it.[2]

It was also a characteristic act of courtesy towards the Senatorial class when Hadrian decided that no " Knight " should be summoned to any Council meeting which was called to consider the case of a Senator. In this he was so far observant of Augustus' own principle that Senators must be tried by the Senate. Moreover he laid it down in clear terms that no appeal from a judicial decision of the Senate could be made to the Prince.[3] The jurisdiction of that Body as a High Court of Justice in certain cases remained inviolate.

[1] There is no actual evidence for the Councillor's salary before the reign of Commodus.

[2] The " Consilium " : *Vita* 8, 8, 9 ; 18, 1 ; 22, 11 ; Dio 69, 7, 1. Cf. Schiller p. 622 ; Bury p. 512 ; Hirschfeld, "Beamten," pp. 339-341 ; Herzog II, pp. 369 sqq. and 757 ; Schurz pp. 12-17 ; P.-W. Hitzig runs the " Forerunner of Absolute Monarchy " idea to death.

[3] Ulpian ap. Dig. XLIX, 2, 1, 2 : Sciendum est appellari a Senatu non posse principem, idque oratione Divi Hadriani effectum. Here is an " oratio " treated as a source of law.

It also appears from the ancient evidence that Hadrian consulted the Senate eagerly, continually, tactfully.[1] He made a point of attending its meetings.[2] He was chary of making men Senators, regarding this as the highest distinction which he had it in his power to bestow.[3] In the same spirit he treated the old magistracies, the peculiar property of the Senatorial class, with great respect. He himself took the Consulship for the third time on the first of January, A.D. 119, and held it for four months. This honour of a " Third consulship " he granted to many Senators.[4]

Finally, Hadrian showed unwearying consideration and friendliness to the individual members of the Senatorial class. His hospitality was genial and knew no limits. When his guests came to the palace, they found not only " entertainments rich in conversation " but also amusements of a more jovial and less exacting type. The Prince was eager to take his share in all. He discouraged mere formal visits of compliment. Why should men have this burden laid on them ? he asked. " In all things he acted just like an ordinary man." [5] He himself gladly took part in others' rejoicings and gala days, both in their town houses and upon their country estates. Did any one fall sick, the Emperor would visit him again and again, " twice or thrice a day ". He set up statues in Trajan's Forum of the living as well as of the dead. And no single man, we read, abused such friendliness. " None waxed insolent by reason of the Prince's friendship, nor sold either word or deed of his for money, as courtiers are wont to do." [6]

There is no justification for scepticism or cynicism at such tales, even on the part of a Cambridge professor. " Notwithstanding all his endeavours he was unable to win the confidence of the Roman nobility." [7] And again, " he conspicuously failed to conciliate the aristocracy ".[8] For the whole of the twenty years between the Conspiracy of the four consulars and the last few months of Hadrian's life, when once more regret and suspicion were kindled by an untoward harshness,[9] there exists in the record of the reign no true proof of any dislike felt for the Emperor by Senate, Senators, or any other Romans of lesser degree. There is no hint of any plot against his life by such. He can presently leave Rome for many a long month of travel, confident

[1] Dio 69, 7, 1. [2] *Vita* 8, 6.
[3] *Vita* 8, 7 ; cf. 8, 10 ; and Herzog p. 365. [4] *Vita* 8, 4, 5.
[5] *Vita* 9, 8 : Omnia denique ad privati hominis modum fecit.
[6] Dio 69, 7, 1-4. The laudatory account in the *Vita* 9, 7-9, is supposed by Kornemann, Chapter III, to be due to the stupidity (I take it) of his (hypothetical) " Anonymous " author of this section, who transfers the state of things in his own (hypothetical) lifetime under Alexander Severus back to the days of Hadrian ! The " contubernium imperatoriae maiestatis " of the *Vita* 8, 1, must be private hospitality. So Bury p. 512.
[7] Ib. p. 513. [8] Ib. p. 516. [9] See below, Chapter XV, § 1.

that he also leaves only goodwill behind him in the city. Hadrian's very journeys round the Empire prove that he feels secure in his power at home. Such security is based on the affection felt for the Prince by every class of his subjects, from the lowest to the highest, and not on the fear engendered by any covert striving after absolute power.

[NOTE A TO § 2

THE FIFTEEN-YEAR TAX-CYCLE AND THE REMISSION OF TAX-ARREARS

This whole subject is perplexing. I give in the text what seems to me the most likely story. The ancient evidence consists of the *Vita* 7, 6; Dio 69, 8, 1[2], with 71, 32, 2; and the important inscription C.I.L. VI, 967, quoted below. There is also the confirmatory testimony of coins (Eckhel VI, 478; Cohen 1210-1213); and, for what it is worth (which is very little), Eusebius, Chron. II, pp. 164, 165 (Schoene), with the different versions of this.

The Tax-cycle is the chief difficulty, and for this Dio is the sole authority. Dio 71, 32, 2, seems to imply a revision of some sort in A.D. 133 (= 118 + 15). So the "forty-six" years χωρὶς τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα τοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ brings us to A.D. 178. Hadrian's intention of a fifteen-year cycle thus did not survive his death. To talk of it therefore as of great importance is unjustified, e.g. "This regulation, though not carried out, is important because it anticipates the celebrated system of Indictions introduced by the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 312" (Bury p. 513, copying Mommsen and Marquardt). This is a parade of learning rather than a helpful suggestion.

Dio also, speaking of Hadrian's measure of A.D. 118, in his puzzle-headed scatter-brained way talks of the "sixteen-year period" ἀφ' οὗ τε καὶ μέχρις οὗ τηρηθήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν (69, 8, 1). The μέχρις οὗ carries on to the hypothetical revision again in A.D. 133. But what is the ἀφ' οὗ? Does Dio imply that arrears of taxes were remitted only if incurred *before* A.D. 103? This would not have been much of a boon. Or only if incurred *since* A.D. 103? This is absurd. If the Treasury could not recover debts owing at any time in the last fifteen years, how did it propose to recover still more ancient debts? Is the passage simply a redundant way of saying a "cycle of fifteen years"?

Dio also says that the arrears were due to the Aerarium as well as to the Fiscus. The *Vita* speaks of the Fiscus only. Schanz's argument (pp. 22-23) in favour of Dio is remarkably limp. P.-W., Herzog, Hirschfeld, prefer the *Vita*.

C.I.L. VI, 967 is a vote of thanks by the SPQR to Hadrian "trib. pot. II cos. II," i.e. it is clearly dated to A.D. 118. It runs, "qui primus omnium principum et solus, remittendo sestertium novies milies centena milia IV debitum fiscis, non praesentes tantum cives sed et posteros eorum praestitit hac liberalitate securos." Did S. Jerome get his "plurimos etiam ipsis tributis liberos praestitit" from a misinterpretation of this? The sum mentioned in the inscription is confirmed by the coins.

The modern writers who wrestle with the subject are: Hirschfeld, "Beamten," p. 14, note 2; Herzog p. 365, who disbelieves in the fifteen-year Tax-revision Cycle; Mommsen, Staatsrecht II[3], 1015, 4; Marquardt, Staatsverw. II, 237; Schiller pp. 620-621.]

[NOTE B TO § 2

THE "CURSUS PUBLICUS"

Ease of communication is an important factor in Imperial administration and also makes for security and unity. Were it not for such consideration, this subject of the Roman Imperial "Cursus Publicus" might seem to have been treated by modern writers at wearisome and disproportionate length, as, e.g. by Hirschfeld, "Beamten," pp. 191-192; Stuart Jones, "Companion," p. 49; Mommsen, II, p. 988; Marquardt, I, p. 561; Madvig, I, p. 745; Willems, "Droit public," p. 477; Platnauer, Sept. Severus, p. 187; Schurz pp. 117-120, who holds the unlikely view that Hadrian transferred the cost from individual local magistrates to local treasuries.

Ancient evidence: For *Claudius*—C.I.L. III, 7251; *Nerva*—"vehiculatione Italiae remissa" ap. Eckhel VI, 408; *Hadrian—Vita* 7, 5 (if "statum" here is read instead of "statim," it looks like the substitution of a fixed annual local charge for a spasmodic levy when necessary. Herzog p. 360, keeps "statim"); *Pius—Vita* c. 12; *Severus—Vita* c. 14. Cf. Victor, Caes. XIII, 6.

The clerks (freedmen) "A diplomatibus" first found under Hadrian and at Rome: C.I.L. VI, 8622. Cf. Hirschfeld p. 200.

The "Praefectus vehiculorum" or "general director," at Rome seems also to have been due to Hadrian, and to have been the substitution of an Eques for the freedman "Ab vehiculis". Cf. Hirschfeld pp. 192-194.]

CHAPTER V

THE EMPEROR'S FIRST YEARS OF TRAVEL

§ 1. Character and meaning of the travels.
§ 2. The first journey: Western half: A.D. 121-123.
§ 3. The first journey: Eastern half: A.D. 123-126.

CHAPTER V

§ 1. Character and Meaning of the Travels

AFTER his return to Rome from the Danube in the autumn of A.D. 118, Hadrian took no holiday away from his work in the city for many months, except for one visit to Campania, the Criccieth of tired Roman statesmen. Then, at the age of forty-five, the Emperor entered upon a series of travels round his Empire which kept him absent from Italy for half the entire number of the years of his rule. There was probably no single Roman province which he had not visited at some time in his life before his final return home.

This insatiate love of travel distinguishes Hadrian from every other Roman Emperor. "Orbem Romanum circumiit," says an ancient writer succinctly.[1] "You may see monuments of his journeys," writes the famous Fronto, himself a younger contemporary of the Emperor, "in city after city both of Asia and of Europe. He loved not only to govern, but also to perambulate, the world."[2] "So eager was he for travel," writes his ancient biographer, "that he wished to see and to learn for himself everything which he had read concerning the places of the world."[3]

Hadrian's journeys, however, displayed none of the pomp and circumstance of a Royal State Progress. Once let him be outside the gates of Rome, and he laid the trappings of glory aside. "He went round all the provinces on foot, outpacing his companions."[4] Rain and cold he despised. "He journeyed through every part of the world with bare head."[5] "He wore no covering on his head either amid Celtic snows or in Egyptian heat."[6] He was a Prince "immensi laboris".[7]

As signs manifest of his visits there sprang up behind him as he roamed new buildings, temples, roads, bridges, aqueducts, games, festivals. His own generosity was lavish. His presence should not cost his loving subjects anything. Yet his stay-at-home and comfortable successor, Antoninus Pius, who quitted Rome only once in a while for a rare holiday on his country

[1] Eutropius VIII, 7, 2. [2] Fronto, ed. Naber, pp. 206 and 226.
[3] *Vita* 17, 8. [4] Epitome, § 4. [5] *Vita* 17, 9; 23, 1.
[6] Dio 69, 9, 4. Cf. the coins—Eckhel VII, 484 sq. Schiller p. 604.
[7] Epitome, § 4.

estates and made but one far journey, remarked once shrewdly that however economical a Prince himself might be, his retinue must be burdensome to the provincials.[1] Did it seem best to him to stay at home and dream ?

" How many miles to Babylon ?
Three score and ten.
Can I get there by candle-light ?
Yes, and back again."

But no hint of any complaint against Hadrian or his Staff on this score reaches us from any other source. And Pius may never have intended his remark to be anything more than an apologia for his own gentle inactivity.

Neither was any reproach ever brought against Hadrian for neglect of Rome or of the Prince's duties there. The city remained quite placid in spite of her Emperor's long absence.

In recent days, Hadrian's " restlessness " has been very variously explained. Some have set it down to " nerves " ; others to " intellectual curiosity," as did the Romans of old time ; others, again, to " political motives ".[2] It is quite certain that the Emperor enjoyed travel for its own sake. He was on fire to see for himself old and famous places as well as to explore new. His were no armchair " miles to Babylon ".

Stress also must be laid upon the " military " motives for the travels. These were of a twofold nature. Pursuing, as he openly did, a policy of peace in sharp contrast with that of his warlike predecessor, Hadrian saw that such peace depended, not only on the absence of any provocation to his neighbours, but also, and to a still greater extent, upon the strength of his own frontiers and the efficiency of the armies which guarded them.[3] Concerning these he would rely upon no hearsay evidence. He would assure himself by personal inspection and effort.

There remained a second " military " reason for the Emperor's tireless activity. Nero's fall had shown the danger of neglecting or despising the army. Few of the Princes who succeeded him could be accused of this shortsightedness. Emperors who in person led their troops to war and won renown as great captains chose the straight road to popularity. Hadrian had not so easy a task. Himself no novice in war, he was resolved to have no more fighting. None the less he would make himself known to all his armies in their distant frontier camps on river, wilderness, or desert. By his visits here, he secured not only the strengthening of the ramparts of the Empire and the renovation of army discipline,[4] but also a favour with the troops such as few Emperors

[1] Capitolinus, Vit. Ant. Pii. 7, 11.
[2] E.g. Schiller pp. 604, 616 ; Dürr pp. 1-4 ; etc.
[3] So Dio 69, 9, 5.
[4] See below, Chapter XI, § 1.

seem to have won. When he returned to Rome, his position was threatened by no sign or rumour of military disaffection, Peacemaker though he was. The Prince must have shown a very genuine affection for his soldiers in manner as well as in his untiring care for their comfort to be so beloved by them. This was the great thing, that his men had seen their Emperor and had heard him speak to them, a soldier among soldiers in their own quarters.

Such military objects might in the main dictate the Imperial travels to the Rhine, to Britain, to the desert front in Africa. These achieved, Hadrian could spend many months besides in enjoyment of the renowned cities of Greece and of Asia. Then again he would penetrate beyond these haunts of ancient peace to the far-flung outposts of Empire, to Trebizond, to Satala, to the wild Cappadocian frontier where the legions kept watch against the fierce border tribes, to Syria and Antioch once more, lest the ever-restless Parthian should mock his policy of peace. Thence Arabia and Egypt called to him with their magic fascination. He would learn everything, know everything, explore everything for himself. Never had the Romans seen so curious, perhaps so wise, an Emperor.

Those who like may harp besides on Hadrian's sense of duty to the Empire; may read into his tours a strong resolve "to promote the welfare of the State," or, more precisely, to elevate all the provinces up to the privileges and the status of Rome herself.[1] Of a certainty he was "des Reiches erster Diener".[2] But when duty is a sheer delight, why hasten to fasten the sterner word upon the enjoyment?

These travels reveal not only something of the character and the policy of the traveller, but also the security of the Prince and the strength of the Imperial idea now after its century and a half of life. Once during them Hadrian's life was threatened. The would-be assassin was a madman, and the Emperor laughed at the incident.[3] Nothing is said of any precautions taken for his personal safety in any of his wanderings. And wherever he roams, he is welcomed, in the West with simpler terms of homage, in the East by the Greek-speaking peoples he is revered as Divinity incarnate upon earth. At a distance of eighteen centuries these Greek lands still yield innumerable relics of the worshipful reverence paid to the Imperial tourist.

Adulation upon this Greek scale seems the mark of slavish minds. Both in its European homeland and when transplanted to Asia Minor, the Greek spirit of the second century of our era

[1] As e.g. P.-W.; Dürr p. 6; Schulz p. 115; and the flowery Curtius, Stadtgesch. v. Athen. p. 264.

[2] Schiller p. 605.

[3] See below, p. 84.

is cringing and base. "What it means to us" is best passed over in silence. This flattery of the Emperor is not only official, paid to him by Town Councils and District Committees. It is just as conspicuous in individuals. Never can it have produced a more garish crop of honours, epithets, statues, temples, buildings, arches, dedications, prayers, and thanksgivings, than at the time when the phil-hellenic Hadrian passed by. The old Greek love of moderation and of symmetry had, like Astraea, taken to flight long since, and, like Astraea, showed no signs of return. Votive offerings to the Emperor sprang up on that exuberant Greek soil like mushrooms on a Thames water-meadow in the night. There was full and rich employment for the busy tribe of masons, stone-cutters, architects, and sculptors. Unhappily, their efforts did not always please the discerning eye. "Your statue here," writes Arrian, governor of the country, from Trapezus to his Prince, "is beautifully placed, with hand pointing out to sea. But it is not in the least like you. Please send me one from Rome instead of it." The figure of Hermes in Hadrian's new temple here was also a failure. "Will you also send me another Hermes, about five feet high? Also one of Philesius, four feet?" Thus flourished Roman Art, kept in stock and ready for export. There was no protection for local manufacturers.[1]

That Greek fawning should take this shape was natural enough. The Greek East was aglow with Gods. Christians were hated because they were minded to empty the Pantheon, not because they added a new God to it. Why should not his Greek subjects acknowledge in Hadrian a very present and complacent Deity, and use their customary extravagance of compliment in which they had indulged for centuries? Perhaps some might secretly admit that spiritual belief was lacking. Yet none could fail to see in the new "Olympian" God the visible expression of the might, the majesty, and the unity of Rome. If too He never failed to make some tangible return to them for this worship, this was greater praise than could be bestowed upon most Gods. Therefore it is that Hadrian is celebrated in the Greek East by common and joyful consent, not alone as "Founder," "Benefactor," "Restorer," "Liberator," "Panhellenian," "Pythian," "Olympian," but besides as "Helios," as "Zeus," as "Divine Saviour of the World," as "Redeemer of the Universe".

What did this "Greek spirit" mean to the Emperor himself? In such buttery adulation Nero had sunned himself like a peacock, croaking his song of gratitude, smiling, agreeable, always "asking for more." Hadrian did not, could not, check the flattery, refuse the homage—that is all we see. A sense of humour is a man's

[1] Arrian, Periplus Ponti Euxini, 2, 3. Philesius was one of the generals of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks in command at Trapezus.

natural weapon against priggishness, either in himself or in others. And priggishness, even if companioned by a genuine self-depreciation, or if a sign of real moral superiority, is the most intolerable of human qualities. Hadrian, ardent enquirer into the nature of all things, man included, could not rudely rebuff his votaries. Perhaps it was then too late in the history of civilization for so mature a Prince greatly to enjoy perpetual deification. The innumerable Saints of the later Christian Pantheon were the yet distant products of the childish minds of the common folk inhabiting that Greco-Roman world, not of the learning and gravity of that age. It may be that Hadrian preferred the blunt homage of the troops in the frontier camps. He at least, unlike Nero, knew himself to be no God.

Sabina his wife received some, but fewer, honours, and probably enjoyed them all immensely. She accompanied the Emperor upon some of his travels, certainly in Egypt, probably in Greece, possibly in Asia Minor, Africa, and Syria. There is no evidence of her presence on any frontier. With Greek art and poetry and philosophy she might concern herself, but not with the army.

The names of few indeed of other companions of the Emperor on his travels are known. In Sabina's train in Egypt is the learned bluestocking Balbilla ; in Hadrian's own, his favourite Antinous.[1] One Titus Caesernius Statius Quintius Statianus Memmius Macrinus, in after years consul and governor of Africa, finds room on his monument besides for the statement that as a youngster he was Hadrian's " companion in the East ".[2] One other record, sorrowful as Virgilian pathos itself, tells its own quiet story on the tombstone : [3]

" I, Lucius Marius Vitalis, son to Lucius, lived seventeen years and days fifty-five. Being perfected in book learning, I persuaded my parents to let me learn Art. I departed from the city in the suite of Hadrian Augustus Caesar. While I studied, the Fates were jealous of me. They snatched me from my Art and consigned me to this place.

" Maria Malchis, his most unhappy mother, to her darling son."

On his travels, it is the Emperor alone who, from first to last, dominates the stage.

The tale of places visited might, by rearrangement, be fashioned into a gazetteer of the Roman world. It would have all the sleepy dulness of a gazetteer. If pursued in all possible order and completeness, it obscures by its very weight the curiosity of

[1] See below, Chapter VIII.
[2] C.I.L. VIII, 7036, found at Cirta in Numidia. He was consul in A.D. 141.
[3] C.I.L. VI, 8991 = Dessau, 7741.

the Imperial traveller who spent such long and happy years in absence from his Capital City. No part of the Emperor's own story of his journeyings survives. Its place is taken by a bare and meagre record, little more than an itinerary lacking all life and colour. However this record may be eked out from other and remoter sources, it is only in rare episodes that it is possible to come near to Hadrian himself. It is left to the imagination of the spectator to supply both incidents and setting of many a wild or crowded scene, the barest précis alone of which is grudged to an impatient audience by the management, and the curtain remains resolutely down.

§ 2. The First Journey: Western Half A.D. 121-123

It was probably in the year A.D. 121 that Hadrian set out upon his first Imperial tour. He did not return to Rome until the autumn of the year A.D. 126.

The Western provinces and their frontiers claimed his presence first. On the Rhine the state of army discipline was causing some anxiety. It was possible also that the actual sites of the frontier camps might, in cases, be changed for the better. In Britain the Brigantes of Yorkshire, the most powerful and the most troublesome tribe of them all, had risen but a few years since and had cut one unlucky legion, the Ninth, to pieces.[1] This province needed attention, as also did Mauretania, from which the Emperor had recalled Marcius Turbo before the latter's work of pacification here was finished.[2] Between Britain and Mauretania lay the Gallic and Spanish provinces.

From Rome and Italy Hadrian journeyed through eastern Gaul to the Upper Rhine, dispensing bounty on the way.[3] On the German frontier the tour of military inspection began. It must remain quite uncertain whether he now ordered any change or improvement in the system of military defence works which connected the middle Rhine with the Upper Danube.[4] The Emperor's time was mainly devoted to the troops themselves, to the "Exercitus" rather than to the "Limes" Germanicus.

Not even the smallest detail of army organization escaped

[1] *Vita* 5, 2; Juvenal 14, 196; Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 218. Cf. Hübner ad C.I.L. VII, 241. The IX Legion is not heard of after A.D. 109, but the Brigantes' rising is usually set in A.D. 117. It is most unlikely that Hadrian reduced the tribe himself, as is held by Schiller and Jung. Cf. P.-W.

[2] See above, pp. 43, 46.

[3] For the unmeaning "causariis, casuariis," of the MSS. of *Vita* 10, 1, there are many suggestions. See critical note in H. Peter's edition. Peter's own "causarios" seems improbable.

[4] This view is held by P.-W., Hübner (Röm. Herrschaft p. 98); Schiller p. 607; etc. But see below, Chapter IX.

his notice. "He desired peace rather than war, and yet he trained his troops as if war were imminent." [1] The difficulty of preserving a "war standard" in days of unbroken peace is notorious. The Roman was now a voluntary professional long-service army system. To the soldiers, distributed along distant frontiers in permanent cantonments, constant hard work and ceaseless vigilance were at all times the orders of the day. Yet twenty years without fighting had caused in Germany and in Africa some deterioration in efficiency and morale. Now in Germany Hadrian set himself to remedy defects by example and by army order.

He lived the camp life in the open air, cheerfully satisfied with the soldier's fare of pork, vin ordinaire, and cheese. Famous disciplinarians of former days, Scipio Aemilianus in Spain, Metellus in Africa, and Trajan himself, were his models. He himself took kit inspection, of officers as well as of the rank and file. He devoted the closest scrutiny to every detail of fortification and field engineering, trench and rampart work. The men grew used to twenty-mile route marches in full armour with the Emperor sharing the column's march on foot all the way. He abolished luxuries of all kinds.

There followed a series of vigorous Army Orders. "No 'leave' was to be granted except for urgent reason." "No man was to be promoted to Commissioned rank unless he had done good service, was experienced in war, and of proper age." [2] The Emperor himself, in promoting men, whether to commissioned or to non-commissioned officer rank, paid heed to their military efficiency only, their bodily strength, their good reputation, their fairness of dealing with the men. Mere popularity counted for nothing in his eyes. More Army Orders follow. "No non-commissioned officer is to accept any gift from a private." "Officers' Quarters are to be plainly furnished and not display the luxuries of a Villa." "No fancy gardening is allowed in barracks."

Hadrian himself paid frequent visits to the military hospitals.[3] Here in Germany, as later in Africa, he showed himself to be the practised experienced soldier, cognisant of all the petty details of army life, as well as a keen critic of tactics and ordnance.[4]

[1] *Vita* 10, 2. "Exerc. Germanicus" on coins: Cohen, 562, 573 sq. Eckhel VI, 494.

[2] "Nisi plena barba," *Vita* 10, 6. "Das hat der erste Barträger auf den Kaiserthron geschrieben" (Kornemann p. 42). The Emperor Valerian in the second half of the third century alludes to this Army Order of Hadrian (Vopiscus, Vit. Prob. 4, 3).

[3] "He used to visit the ambulances every day" (Bury p. 498,—ridiculously). Plew p. 62, is not much better: "Auch das Lazaretwesen bedurfte der Verbesserung". "Aegros milites in hospitiis suis videre" hardly suits either rendering.

[4] This sketch of Hadrian's Army Reforms is connected with his visit to Germany by the *Vita* 10, 2-7. In Dio 69, 9, 1-5, it is given without any such particular reference.

" In a word," sums up the ancient writer, " he so disciplined and organized the troops throughout the whole of the Empire that his regulations remain the Code for the Army to this day." [1] " Diligentissimus circa militum disciplinam." [2] Thus he earned the confidence without forfeiting the admiration of his troops.

His inspection of the garrisons of the Rhine finished, Hadrian travelled down the river to the " Island of the Batavians " at the mouth of Rhine and Meuse. Here he founded a small settlement bearing his own name, Foram Hadriani, now Voorburg to the south of Leyden.[3] Thence he took ship to Britain.

Only the briefest and the vaguest record remains of the Emperor's activities and his reform of army discipline in Britain.[4] His one permanent monument is the " Roman Wall," " constructed," says the ancient biographer, " first by him, 80 miles in length, to divide the barbarians from the Romans ".[5] This was a visible sign of the Imperial frontier-policy of defensive works. The controversies which rage round the " Wall " from Solway to Tyne, as well as its remains, keep its memory alive. It is rash to assert that all its problems have been even yet solved.[6] The breaches made by time are the counterpart of the gaps in our knowledge concerning this, the greatest and most famous of all Hadrian's frontier fortifications.[7]

The rising of the Brigantes had by this time been quelled.[8] To replace the lost legion, the Sixth (Victrix) was called from Castra Vetera on the lower Rhine to new headquarters at York.[9] A little road-building was carried on.[10] This exhausts the whole story of Hadrian in Britain. The " Wall " may not have been begun when he left the island.[11] It is not likely that he spent the first winter of his travels in this far province, whether enduring the snow-drifts hurling out of the bleak north through Peel Gap, or shivering in all the miseries of an English winter at York. The sunny Provençal shores invited him away from such wretchedness.[12]

Hadrian returned from Britain to Gaul and made his way to the Mediterranean coast. The news of riots at Alexandria upon the discovery of a new Apis bull-calf may have brought him down

[1] Dio 69, 9, 4 ; A.D. 210.
[2] Eutropius VIII, 7, 2. So " Disciplina Aug." on his coins, Eckhel VI, 503.
[3] C.I.L. III, 4279. [4] *Vita* 11, 2 ; 12, 1. [5] *Vita* 11, 2.
[6] Yet cf. Collingwood's happy confidence, below, Chapter X, note B.
[7] See at length below, Chapter XI.
[8] Probably by the " Expeditio Britannica " of C.I.L. X, 5829.
[9] C.I.L. VI, 1549. Cf. Hardy, " Studies in Roman History," I, p. 228, who puts the rising of the Brigantes and the moving of the Legion " later "—I do not see why, in view of Fronto p. 218, ed. Naber. Cf. Schiller p. 607.
[10] C.I.L. VII, 1169, 1175. [11] See at length below, Chapter XI.
[12] Unless it is proposed to base an argument on Dio's " Celtic snows," 69, 9, 4 (above, p. 75).

'HADRIAN'S WALL' IN BRITAIN
(at Housesteads Crags)

'HADRIAN'S WALL' IN BRITAIN
(at Northumberland Lake)

to Massilia, whence he could, if necessary, himself take ship to Egypt.[1] But the disturbance ceased, and he remained in Provence, roaming through its wonderful little Roman cities. Truly this was a joyous refreshment after the hardships of Germany and the desolate dreariness of Britain. The Emperor's presence is recalled, at Apt by the tomb of Borysthenes his hunter,[2] at Avignon by the title of the town,[3] at Nîmes by inscriptions in his honour.[4] At this last city there came to him the tidings of Plotina's death, and here he bade build a temple in everlasting remembrance of her name.[5]

The best part of two years thus passed away. Hadrian chose Tarraco, chief city of northern Spain, as the place for his second winter sojourn abroad, A.D. 122-123. Here he was busy. Local representatives from the whole of the country were convoked to discuss a proposal for a compulsory levy of troops. If the conscripts were intended for immediate service against the Moors, the unpopularity of the plan is explicable. The Emperor found the delegates highly recalcitrant. The "Spaniards" objected violently. The "Italians" [6] turned the scheme down "with a joke". It must have been a notable joke, for the ancient biographer here calls special attention to the source of his information.[7] Cicero would have given us the actual joke instead, and this would have been far better. Now it is lost for ever. Hadrian handled the matter tactfully, and it is clear that the plan was dropped. No Spaniards were called up to serve against their will, whether in Morocco or elsewhere.[8]

The Emperor now repaired the Temple of Augustus at Tarraco at his own charges.[9] And a great activity in road-making in every part of the Spanish peninsula gives him a claim to the title, on local coinage, of the "Restorer of Spain" without too great an excess of flattery.[10] The provincials expressed their gratitude by the usual method. They erected statues of the Emperor in great numbers. And the local Provincial Council, meeting in session at Tarraco, elected a special official charged to supervise the gilding of all these statues. It was a delicate business, and the Councillors could find no native-born expert. They chose a Carthaginian, Cnaeus Numisius Modestus by name. But he was

[1] *Vita* 12, 1. [2] See above, p. 17.

[3] Colonia Julia Hadriana Avenn. C.I.L. XII, 1120.

[4] C.I.L. XII, 3232, 3237 c. That of the "Sailors of the Rhone" at Tournon is earlier (A.D. 118)—C.I.L. XII, 1797.

[5] See above, p. 52.

[6] I.e. either those living in Spanish towns, or the members of Spanish communities enjoying the full Roman franchise.

[7] Viz. Marius Maximus. [8] *Vita* 12, 3, 4.

[9] *Vita* 12, 3. Cf. Kornemann ap. Klio I, p. 112.

[10] Eckhel VI, 495; Cohen 1258-1273. Cf. Reid, "Municipalities," p. 241, and Appendix C below.

appointed presently "Priest of the Province," perhaps by way of recognition of his goldsmith's work.[1]

It was while Hadrian wintered at Tarraco that the one personal adventure of these travels befel him. He was strolling quietly in the garden of his host's house when a slave rushed furiously upon him with brandished sword. The Emperor seized him promptly, and handed him over to the scared attendants who came racing up. Enquiry proved that the fellow was lunatic, and Hadrian had him handed over to the care of the doctors. "Recte," adds a commentator quaintly. "Satis enim punitur cui talis morbus."[2] "It was punishment enough to be so afflicted." The last few words might be omitted.

Hadrian remained quite undisturbed by the whole incident.[3]

In the spring of A.D. 123 the Emperor took the field in person against the Moorish rebels and thus finished Turbo's work in Mauretania. "He suppressed the rising of the Moors and won votes of thanks from the Senate."[4] Nothing more is known of this successful campaign in a land which is so fatal to modern Spain. The natives gave no more trouble at any time in Hadrian's reign. There are a few traces of military works undertaken in the valleys of the Cheliff, Sahel, and Isser, in Algeria, and the town of Quiza near the mouth of the Cheliff boasted an arch commemorating the Emperor.[5] None of these imply his actual visit to the country. Africa was reserved for a later occasion.[6]

Returning from Mauretania to Spain, Hadrian took ship direct to Ephesus, touching perhaps at Crete on the way.[6] The Western provinces never saw him again.

§ 3. The First Journey: Eastern Half
A.D. 123-126

Hadrian spent the next three years in the Greek-speaking lands of the Eastern half of the Empire. The first two of these years were devoted to "Asia provincia," to a long tour in the Hellespontine district, to Bithynia, and to Pontus, where he reached as far as the old Greek trading-city of Trapezus, the modern Trebizond. The third year was passed in the homeland of Greece proper. In these countries there was no military problem to engage the Emperor's thoughts. Peace on every frontier allowed him to give full play to that other side of his character, the inquisitive and artistic. This his first real holiday,

[1] C.I.L. II, 4230. Cf. Mommsen ap. "Hermes," I, p. 112. P.-W.'s "curandas" for "aurandas" is inaccurate and very dull besides.

[2] Gruter. [3] *Vita* 12, 5. [4] *Vita* 12, 7.

[5] C.I.L. VIII, 9697. Cf. Cagnat, "L'Armée romaine d'Afrique," pp. 45-46; Reid, "Municipalities," pp. 307, 308.

[6] See Appendix C.

spent in Greek lands, may well have given to him three of the happiest years of his life.

The literary record tells nothing of Hadrian's activities in Asia Minor. An overwhelming mass of inscriptions add less information than might be hoped.[1] That the Emperor paid visits to certain towns is made clear by them. Of the time and length of his stay in these, of any thoughts of his concerning them, of any incident in any visit, nothing is revealed. Monumental stones may at times be talkative. When they choose to be dumb, they confine a historical narrative within such long and tall walls as those which deprive a walk of interest, even though it be at Sorrento itself.

Hadrian founded, or refounded, a few towns, and gave them his own name to bear. Such were Hadrianopolis (Stratonicea) in the Caicus valley east of Pergamum; Hadrianotherae, the scene of a hunting exploit;[2] another Hadrianopolis on a site near the ancient Thymbrion, a few miles south-west of Philomelium in Phrygia; yet another Hadrianopolis in Bithynia; and Hadrianoi on a spur of Olympus near the Rhyndacus. But of all the towns called after him, one only has enshrined his name in the knowledge of every successive generation, our own most unmistakably included. Yet when the Emperor visited Adrianople in Thrace is an unsolved problem. It may have been a détour of his from the Propontis in these years' travels. There is no kind of certainty.

Ephesus, where he landed probably in the autumn of A.D. 123, enjoyed many marks of his esteem. He spent the winter here, and the site has surrendered to explorer and excavator some relics of his sojourn. Perhaps Sabina joined him here from Rome. Perhaps her coming was deferred until Hadrian's second visit to the city in A.D. 129. Here in fact, as in Greece itself, it is impossible definitely to assign the evidences of the Emperor's presence to one or other of his two tours. It was probably upon the later occasion that he instituted at Ephesus a new "Five-yearly" festival, called the Hadrianeia Olympia. This was presently copied at the rival city of Smyrna. At both cities the Emperor, it seems, established "Mysteries" after the pattern of those at Eleusis. And on both he bestowed other gifts besides. The thrifty organizing instinct of the Prince showed itself in care devoted even to local Ephesian finance.

The whole of the following year, A.D. 124, was given up to a long tour in the north. A special reason called Hadrian to the famous cities of the district, to Cyzicus on the Propontis, and to Nicea and Nicomedia in Bithynia. In the preceding year, a

[1] See Appendix C throughout.

[2] See above, p. 16.

terrible earthquake had laid waste a great part of all three towns. Hadrian was but following the maxims of prudence and the dictates of philanthropy as well as old Imperial precedent when he came to build up the desolation.[1] On his way there he passed through the epic land of Troy, visiting the tomb of Ajax at Ilium, and crossed the straits to the Gallipoli peninsula. It was not so far hence to Thracian Adrianople but that this may have been the year when that great city of contention and undying fame had first its origin.

Returning once more to Asia, Hadrian came to Cyzicus. The temple which he built here as part of his restoration of the ruined town counted as one of the "Marvels of the world". In it was a statue of the Emperor which survived its shrine.[2] Leaving Cyzicus rejoicing in his gifts and in new festivals, he travelled the broad highway eastwards to Nicea, and thence north to Nicomedia. To both cities he was bountiful. Then, pushing eastwards by the great coast road through Sinope and Amisus, Hadrian arrived at Trapezus, most renowned of ancient harbours on the southern shore of the Black Sea.

Here, on the spot where so long ago Xenophon and his Ten Thousand Greeks had hailed the sight of the sea, the Roman commanded the building of a temple. In it statues were to commemorate both the earlier and the later pilgrims. Farther eastwards than Trapezus he did not go. But a few years later he ordered his trusty governor Arrian (to whom Epictetus the philosopher owes his fame) to explore and make report on the whole circuit of the Black Sea with Trapezus as his point of departure. Arrian's concise and soldier-like despatch concerning it survives to the present day.[3]

Hadrian himself now turned back westwards again. He took the inland route by Satala, the Lycus valley, Amaseia, and so through Paphlagonia to Bithynion town. Perhaps it was now, in A.D. 124, that he first met the boy Antinous, a Greek of this city, who became his favourite page.[4] Thus he made his way back once more to Nicomedia.[5]

[1] Georg. Sync. p. 659; Chron. Pasch. p. 475; Euseb. Chron. pp. 164, 165; cf. Eckhel VI, 493; Cohen 1283.

[2] Joann. Malal. Chron. XI, 364E, p. 279; Chron. Pasch. p. 659; the temple was destroyed by earthquake in time of Marcus Aurelius, but the statue lasted to the sixth century (Schol. ad Lucian, Icar. 24).

[3] Arrian of Nicomedia, governor of Cappadocia, wrote his "Periplus Ponti Euxini" in A.D. 131-132.

[4] For the story of Antinous, see below, Chapter VIII, § 3.

[5] The evidence (often very shaky) for Hadrian's visits to the towns specified is collected in Appendix C. It must be remembered that the evidence for his actual routes of travel both here and elsewhere does *not* clearly warrant such positive assertions as those made at times by the text of my narrative. But it is really intolerable to pepper every sentence with probablys and possiblys. Such would be well nigh as plentiful as

After a second winter in Asia, spent perhaps at Ephesus again or at Pergamum, Hadrian in the spring of A.D. 125 penetrated into the interior of the Phrygian highlands, some 250 miles from the coast. The Hadrianopolis near Philomelium was founded, and at Melissa, a few miles to the south of Synnada, the Emperor did reverence to the memory of the Athenian warrior and diplomat, Alcibiades. Here the Athenian, who would have saved his city from her most grievous downfall had his bitter foes permitted, had been entrapped and murdered foully by the emissaries of a jealous governor on his flight through the heart of Asia towards the court of the Persian monarch. This at least was one story of his pitiable end, and his tomb stood there at Melissa to confirm the tale. Now, by Hadrian's command, his statue in Parian marble was set up on the tomb, and an annual sacrifice appeased the indignant Shade.[1] Then the Emperor returned again to Ephesus, where he took ship. Voyaging by way of Rhodes and the islands of the southern Aegean, he arrived at Athens in the autumn of this same year, A.D. 125.

The temptation is irresistible to linger for a moment and to compare the condition of Asia Minor and of the whole huge stretch of country from the southern shores of the Black Sea to the great eastern bay of the Mediterranean in their present state with that of the days of Hadrian. Under the rule of the Roman Prince the inhabitants enjoyed a peace, a comfort and a security, a prosperity, a happiness, and a civilization, which lie far beyond the wildest dreams of the miserable folk, dwellers in that torn and ravaged land to-day. The twentieth century may well bow its head in confusion and shame before the second when the page of the history of Asia Minor lies open for the reading. So priceless, and so transient, was the boon which Rome of the early Empire bestowed upon her eastern lands. To be reckoned as part cause of that earlier joyfulness of life, presently supplanted by bigotry and war, by famine, misery, and massacre, Christianity can lay no claim. The new cult was already in the days of Hadrian widely spread, alike in the Bithynian cities of the north as in the towns of the south where, hard on a century earlier, Saint Paul had journeyed, preaching his Master, Christ. And to many an individual storm-tossed unquiet soul, the new religion now under Hadrian brought its peace, if with it some small risk of denunciation before the Roman incurious magistrate.[2] But not yet was

the milestones on the Roman roads along which from place to place the Emperor had, after all, to make his way.

"We journey on the ancient ways,
Whene'er we think we find 'em.
If out of sight they vanish quite,
We'll not attempt to mind 'em."

[1] Athenaeus XIII, 574F.

[2] See below, Chapter XIII, § 3.

Christianity, even in that fanatic East, marred by that spirit of bigotry which, with its priestcraft, is humanity's most bitter curse. The religion was still struggling for life, not waxen proud and contentious in triumph. Then too the hosts of Islam lay in the distant future of centuries to come, when a sore-vexed Byzantium should strive to maintain some relics of Asia's ancient joy. For that vanished happiness, for the peacefulness and culture which enriched the peoples from the Black Sea to Syria, from the Aegean to the Caucasus, in measure far exceeding fragments enjoyed during the last thousand years of their unhappy history, the credit rests with the Imperial Government of Rome. When men desire to dilate, whether it be upon the progress of civilization or upon the blessings of the Gospel, let their gaze wander over the highways of the world, but let it not light upon this one corner of Asia, where, until the last unhappy year of Grace, Greek and Turk still struggled for supremacy, and the Armenian for dear life. Happier the lands which now lie desolate that once were full of people.

The Emperor passed the winter of A.D. 125-126 at Athens, the city now more than ever the intellectual and artistic capital of the world. When spring came, he went touring among the historic cities of Greece. He revisited Athens three years later on his way to Asia, and spent a second winter in the city. His dealings with Greece and its towns are best narrated separately.[1]

In the summer of A.D. 126 Hadrian took ship to Sicily, where he stayed to climb Etna's eleven thousand feet [2] and see the sunrise from the mountain top. It was a giant climb and the Emperor then fifty years of age. But why, for this vigour and enthusiasm worthy of a younger mountaineer should he on this occasion be contemptuously labelled by a German as "Kein Römer mehr"? [3] The time, says the Teuton in disparagement, spent by Hadrian in climbing mountains should rather have been given by him to "implanting the intellectual life of his nation with fruitful seeds". So thoughtlessly did the Prince, despite his own literary pursuits, despite the peace which he had bestowed upon the Empire, stunt his people's growth of thought. Had he remained in Rome, he might have studied the philosophy of Epictetus. Even in Sicily he might have read Empedocles on Etna. Nay, he was quite unrepentant in his love for mountain climbing. When he was three years older, he struggled up Mount Casius in Syria, five thousand feet [4] sheer from the sea's level,

[1] See below, Chapter VII.

[2] 10,874 feet. The *Vita* 13, 3, records the feat.

[3] Cf. the ridiculous paragraph in Schanz III, p. 7.

[4] 5318 feet: only half Etna's height after all! But precipitous, and for a man of fifty-three another praiseworthy performance.

once more with intent to watch a sunrise, and was rewarded by a furious thunderstorm instead.[1] More time for seed-planting flung away! An Aristotle indeed might sympathize with such trivial feats of Imperial curiosity, but not a Kant.

After six years' absence Hadrian returned to Rome towards the end of A.D. 126. He spent one quiet year in the city, and then set out once again upon his travels.

[1] See below, Chapter VIII, § 1.

CHAPTER VI

HADRIAN IN AFRICA, A.D. 128

§ 1. The journey to Lambaesis.
§ 2. The military reviews.
§ 3. The tillers of the soil.
[Note to § 3: Hadrian's Land Laws for Africa.]

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. The Journey to Lambaesis

In the spring of the year A.D. 128 Hadrian decided to visit the Roman province of Africa. His main reasons were now once more military. There was an army to be reviewed, a desert frontier to be inspected. For many years past, and for still more years to come, the defence of the province was entrusted to a single legion, the Third Augustan, with numerous auxiliary troops to assist it. The legion had until lately had its headquarters at Theveste. But recently Hadrian had given orders for it to move farther west to Lambaesis, whence it could keep better watch over the rough country of the Mons Aurasius. The permanent legionary camp at Lambaesis had in consequence just been erected.[1] The Emperor wished to inspect both it and its garrison.

It is indeed an extraordinary tribute both to Roman military efficiency and to Imperial economy of administration that this one legion and some auxiliaries formed the sole defence of a province rich in cities and in crops, of marvellous fertility and resources, second to none in value to Rome. Despite the splendid work done by the French in our own time for the regeneration of Algeria, Roman Africa under the Caesars affords yet one more painful commentary upon the favourite modern claim to ever-advancing progress, that ill-defined word so beloved of the shallow and ignorant optimist. Still more gloomy is the contrast between Roman Cyrenaica and modern Tripolitana, where it is still disputed whether the change is not too violent even to be ascribed to the negligence and stupidity of man, and climatic variation is invoked to account for the present poverty and squalor of a whole district teeming, under Roman rule, with corn and other fruits of a happy earth.[2] And the military expenditure upon the upkeep of the Roman civilization in North Africa was but a fraction of

[1] There is a long description of this camp in Stuart Jones' " Companion," pp. 240-242.

[2] Cf. the recent " Libya " handbook published by the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 127, p. 55. For the immense care bestowed by the Romans upon the water supply all along the North African coastal strip, cf. Reid, " Municipalities," pp. 290-292. The aqueducts from Mt. Zaghouan to Carthage and from the Cinyphus river to Leptis Magna are ascribed to the time of Hadrian. Cf. Graham, " Roman Africa," pp. 108-117.

the sums lavishly poured out to-day in the effort to maintain some show of surface prosperity in a mere portion of the country, as a great French archæologist himself ruefully points out.[1] This is another of the world's many debts to Islam.

The smaller the army, the more imperative is the need for its efficiency. As on the Rhine and in Britain, Hadrian would reassure himself by personal inspection. Moreover the recent disturbances, both in Egypt and Cyrene to the east and in Mauretania to the west, might have unsettled the native inhabitants of Roman Africa, including Numidia, which lay between these countries. Hadrian's journey to Africa had many good reasons for it.

The Emperor landed at Carthage, which city in compliment to him called herself, for the time being, Hadrianopolis.[2] The delighted Heavens themselves greeted his coming with the first shower of rain known in the thirsty land for five long years.[3] Meanwhile about this time at Lambaesis the troops were striving anxiously to propitiate "Jove, ruler of tempests," and "The Winds, lords of fair weather".[4] To their camp Hadrian now made his way, after flying visits to some places of note, such as Utica and Zama, both of which he raised to the rank of a "Colony".[5] His road ran by Telmina, Avita Bibba, and Lares, to Theveste, and thence by Thamugas to his goal, Lambaesis camp.[6]

§ 2. The Military Reviews

There exists to-day the base of a monumental column, which was erected eighteen centuries ago at Lambaesis by Hadrian's soldiers to commemorate their Emperor's review and inspection of the various units of the garrison Army of North Africa. On this base are cut fragments of the remarks which he, their Inspector General, addressed to the men at close of each day's manœuvres. Two speeches to the legionaries' infantry and cavalry occupy, as is fitting, the place of honour on the face. Those to the auxiliaries are cut on the two sides, one on the right side, two on the left. Not only are these five "Adlocutiones Hadriani" mutilated by time, but it is clear that they were from the first but short selections from the actual addresses delivered by the Emperor, however

[1] Gaston Boissier.

[2] *Vita* 20, 4.

[3] *Vita* 22, 14. Rain in Cairo, on the contrary, is held by the natives to portend disaster. Such a passing remark is valuable when the theory of "climatic changes" is under discussion.

[4] C.I.L. VIII, 2609, 2610. It is Dürr p. 39, who temptingly associates these inscriptions with the rain at Carthage.

[5] See Appendix C, and above, p. 11, for the desire for Colonial status.

[6] See note 5 above, p. 86, concerning Hadrian's route, and Appendix C for such evidence of this as exists.

brief and pointed these may have been. It is therefore the less surprising that the Imperial words preserved are complimentary only.[1]

Hadrian spent at least a fortnight in the blazing sun of July in these military reviews and manœuvres. The first Field Day took place on the first of the month for the troops in camp at Lambaesis, on the parade ground a mile and a half to the west of the camp buildings. Here the legion itself, both foot and horse, and an auxiliary "Mounted Cohort" of Spaniards,[2] were called on to display their skill under the eye of their Emperor. On July 7 Hadrian inspected another auxiliary cohort at Zarai. The fragments which remain of his speech on this occasion are too inconsiderable for reproduction. A week later, on the twelfth or thirteenth of the month, he reviewed a squadron of Pannonian horse [3] and the mounted infantry of the Sixth Commagenian Cohort,[4] who had been brought together for the purpose to the camp of the latter. The actual place of this review does not appear.

It were not difficult imaginatively to depict these scenes, when under the fierce heat of an African midsummer the grave bare-headed Roman Emperor, himself the greatest living military expert and disciplinarian of the day, spoke his words of praise to his dearly-loved troops as they clustered round him on those distant frontier stations upon the very confines of the vast unknown southern desert. But any such pen-painting delays, rather than enhances, the interest of the general's words, who was Inspector-General of the armies of the Empire, the Kitchener of Rome, and the soldiers' very Emperor besides. Few ancient speeches ring more decisively or more clearly down all the intervening years than these brief remnants of Hadrian's "addresses" to his troops. In their practical straightforwardness, their avoidance of any trace of rhetoric or bombast, their strict adherence to the business of the moment, we seem to hear, as it were, an Englishman speaking to English troops on the evening of a review. Between such and Hadrian lie all the centuries of quaint mediaeval warfare, chivalrous, barbaresque, impossibly antique. Truly, Roman History justifies itself by its modernity.

The Emperor's five "Adlocutions," so far as they are preserved, run as follows : [5]

[1] C.I.L. VIII, 2532, 18052 ; Dessau 2847. Cf. Cagnat, "L'Armée romaine d'Afrique," I, pp. 146-151, and L'Année Epigraphique, 1900, 34, whose general arrangement and headings I here for the most part follow.

[2] Cohors II Hispanorum equitata : i.e. a cohort consisting of both horse and foot. As distinct from the exclusively "cavalry" Ala, the horse of a Cohors equitata may be called Mounted Infantry.

[3] Ala I Pannoniorum.

[4] Cohors VI Commagenorum equitata.

[5] A Roman legion of 6100 men was divided into 10 cohorts and 60 centuries. Under Hadrian the first cohort consisted of 1105 men, divided into 10 centuries. The other

1. *To the Men of the Third Augustan Legion*

" . . . Your Colonel, my men, has explained to me on your behalf why I should be ready to make allowances for any falling short in efficiency I might notice in you. One of your battalions is absent to-day, of necessity. For one battalion must serve every year as the Governor's Guard, taking turns. Then again, two years ago your numbers were further diminished by the sending of one whole battalion with four men besides from each of the other regimental companies in order to recruit the strength of your comrades of the Third Regiment.[1] Then again, some of you have to be continually away on outpost duty at one or other of the many widely-scattered frontier picquet posts. Within my own recollection too, you have had not only to change camp twice, but to set to work to build the new camp yourselves.

" All these are good excuses supposing your regimental drill or military exercises had fallen short in any respect.

" But in actual fact this is not the case. You have no need for any one to make excuses for you. . . . Your Colonel has been indefatigable in his care for you. Your N.C.O.'s have shown themselves as smart and as brave as ever. . . ."

2. *To the Cavalry of the Legion*

" All military exercises have, I may say, clear and precise rules laid down for them ; and if anything is taken away from those rules or added to them, the exercise becomes either of little use or too complicated. The more elaborate an exercise is, the poorer show it makes. But you chose the hardest of all to display to me, javelin-hurling at full gallop and wearing cuirasses. . . . I congratulate you on your keenness."

3. *To the Second " Mounted " Cohort of Spaniards*

" Entrenchments which others take many days to construct you finished in a single day. You built a wall quite good enough for permanent winter-quarters in a time hardly longer than that wanted for a rampart of sods of earth. This last kind of rampart is quite an easy matter. The turfs are cut of a standard size, and are easy to carry and to handle. There is no difficulty in placing

nine had 555 men each, divided into five centuries apiece. Each normal cohort had six centurions, of whom two were superior in rank to the rest and were called " Pili ". The whole legion was under command of a Legatus, with Tribunes as " commissioned " junior officers under him. I have ventured therefore here to use the (very rough) English equivalents as follows : Legatus = Colonel ; Pilus = Sergeant ; Centurion = N.C.O. ; Legion = Regiment ; Cohort = Battalion ; Century = Company. Only for the " Platoon " can I find no use !

[1] I.e. Legio III Gallica or III Cyrenaica : neither in the province.

them one on top of another, for they are naturally soft and level. But the wall which you built was of big heavy stones of all shapes and sizes, and to lift or carry these and to put them in place they have to be fitted very carefully together. Next, you cut a trench in a plumb straight line through the very hardest and coarsest gravel, and made its sides perfectly smooth as well.

"When you had done this, back you went full tilt to camp, got your rations and your arms, and out you sallied at once after the cavalry. When you found these falling back on you, you advanced with loud cheers in their support. . . . I compliment my Legate Catullinus on his choice of manœuvres so like real warfare for your training, and for practising you so well in these that I am able to congratulate you all very heartily on the result. Cornelianus too, your own commander, is an excellent officer. . . .

"I do not myself care much for Open Order tactics, and in this I follow the best authority.[1] In advance, the trooper should make all the use he can of cover; and in pursuit he should exercise some caution. Otherwise, unless he looks where he is going and is able to rein in sharply whenever he wants, he may easily find himself trapped. . . .

"When you charge, let it be knee to knee. . . ."

4. *To the First Pannonian Squadron*

"You were quick to obey orders, and you manœuvred well over the whole ground. Your javelin-hurling was accurate and good, and that although the javelins were of a kind difficult to grasp. Your spear-throwing too was in many cases excellent, and the jumping was neat and lively. I would certainly have pointed out to you anything in which you fell short if I had noticed it—for example, if you had shown a tendency to overshoot your targets. But there has been no flaw of the kind. The whole of your exercises have been performed absolutely according to rule.

"My Legate Catullinus, it is clear, spares no pains in the discharge of every single one of his duties. Your own commander too evidently looks after you very thoroughly. You shall have your travelling-expenses here given to you. The jumping will take place on the Commagenians' parade ground."

5. *To the Horse of the Sixth Commagenian Cohort*

"It is not easy for Mounted Infantry to give satisfaction by themselves to the Inspecting Officer; and still harder for them when they come after the display given by Cavalry Squadrons

[1] The name mentioned by Hadrian is unfortunately lost. Both Cato and Augustus have been suggested. Possibly Scipio?

proper. These last cover more ground; their javelin-men are in greater numbers; they practise wheeling constantly; and they make a speciality of the "Cantabrian Charge". Then too they have finer horses and more striking equipment, because they get better pay. None the less, you have not failed to interest and to please me in spite of this heat because you have done just exactly what you had to do. You have shown me also some stone-slinging and missile-fighting. Your jumping is most creditable. That my Legate Catullinus has taken great pains with you is proved by the fact that he has made you what you are to-day."

"My Legate," Quintus Fabius Catullinus, was duly rewarded, on his return to Rome two years later, with the consulship.

Well-satisfied with the state of the army, Hadrian now returned from Lambaesis to the coast by way of Cirta, Simittu, and Thabraca. At Cirta he left orders for the building of a new road to lead directly over the mountain watershed to Rusicade, the modern Philippeville. His instructions were carried out in due course by the governor, Sextus Julius Major.[1]

§ 3. The Tillers of the Soil

Yet what was the Roman army, its interest and its purpose, if it were not as the insurance of the safety of the fields?

Owing in part to Nero's extensive confiscations of land in the Roman province of Africa, the Imperial domain-land was a feature of its more settled parts. Here, as in other provinces, these "Crown lands" were worked by tenants called "coloni". Either these were under the immediate supervision of resident Imperial agents, "procurators," and paid rent direct to these; or a middleman, "conductor," would acquire a large tract of such land as chief tenant, and portion it out in small farms among the "coloni," who then paid their rent to him. In both cases the tenant-farmers, possibly also their households, were under an obligation to give some days' labour upon estates away from their own holdings. "How to provide sufficient labour was a standing problem of agriculture."[2]

This modified form of corvée might give rise to great abuses unless the claims upon the "coloni" were very strictly defined and regulated. Hadrian while in Africa had his attention called

[1] See Appendix C.

[2] This system is found a little earlier, in A.D. 116-117, on the "fundus villae magnae Variani" in Roman Africa = the inscription of Henschir Mettich—well explained by Heitland, "Agricola," pp. 343-346—from whom comes the quotation (p. 344). He attributes this need of forced labour to the falling-off in the supply of slaves due to the "pax Romana". On the fundus of Varianus six days' work a year was required of the "colonus". But this requisition is doubled on another African estate in A.D. 181 (Inscr. of Gazr Mezuâr, C.I.L. VIII, 14428. See Heitland, p. 348).

to this, and the result was a "Lex Hadriana" enforcing the necessary regulations, a law which was not only preserved in the archives at Carthage, but which, in whole or part, was posted up conspicuously on the Imperial estate itself for all to read, "colonus," "conductor," and "procurator" alike.

A second measure of the Emperor gave to the tenant-farmers other more positive advantages. By a law known as the "Lex Hadriana de ruderibus agris," they were allowed certain rights of "squatting" on Crown lands which were uncultivated or had remained out of cultivation for ten successive years. These waste or derelict lands remained technically Imperial property, but the squatters were so guaranteed in their tenure that they were even permitted to make the farms so acquired the subject of bequest. This was an old Roman method of bringing waste land into cultivation, with centuries of life behind it in Italy, where indeed in old Republican days it had led to political agitation of the most revolutionary character. None the less, this system of "Possessio" is now applied by Hadrian to the Imperial domains in Africa. In this system also the leading motive of which was "to secure continuous cultivation, giving the tenant a taste of profit before he becomes liable to rent," Hadrian was following a precedent of the preceding reign.[1]

Some gloomy deductions have been drawn from Hadrian's action in this matter. It is argued that the Emperor was attempting to arrest an evil, the decay of agriculture. Land was beginning in his day to go out of cultivation. At the very "apogee" of the Roman Empire there appear "the symptoms of the evil which finally destroyed it, la désertion de la propriété foncière".[2]

This theory is very doubtful, whether regarded as supplying a motive for Hadrian's law or as suggesting an indication of coming disaster. The "Jus occupandi" which it is the purpose of the law to give was historically appropriate to undeveloped lands. Estates in Africa especially had for many years past tended to be of a huge size, and the comparatively recent confiscations did not tend to improve matters.[3] The large estate-owner, and above all the Crown, may fail to make the best use possible of every part of the land owned. Every acre that could grow corn ought to grow corn. Rome's hungry masses demanded this. Arable land and not pasture was the crying need of a simple age when the cereals and not meat constituted the daily food of all classes. Hadrian set an excellent example to other land-owners in encouraging "squatting" upon the undeveloped portions of his own Imperial "saltus," as the Crown lands were

[1] See Heitland, "Agricola," p. 344.
[2] J. Carcopino ap. "Klio," VIII, pp. 154-185.
[3] Pliny, Nat. Hist. XVIII, 35.

called. There is no reason to see in his law any sign of the decay of agriculture.

These "Land Laws" for Africa were enacted surely as the result of Hadrian's personal knowledge of the country. The one provided for the security and good treatment of the tenant farmer on the Crown estates; the other encouraged his enterprise in reclaiming land from the waste. Both remained, nominally at least, in force for many years. It is in fact mainly the evidence of later times which reveals Hadrian's care for the tillers of the soil. His laws are mentioned only in three inscriptions, two of which are dated towards the end of the second century.

Soon after A.D. 180 the Imperial "coloni" of the "Saltus Burunitanus" (Souk el Khmis), an estate lying on the road from Carthage to Bulla, sent an earnest petition to the Emperor Commodus for redress of grievances.[1]

"And therefore we pray thee, most revered Emperor, come to our aid. Let Imperial agent or middleman claim from us the rights given to them by Hadrian's law, but not more than those rights. . . . Pity us, that by the gracious kindness of thy Majesty, the labourers on thy estates, the nurselings of thy household, be no longer disquieted by those who rent the tax-lands."

Soldiers, the complainants continue, had been sent to the "saltus" to enforce the Crown Agents' demands upon the "coloni" for labour in excess of their legal due. Those who refused this had been flogged or put in chains, and that too though some of them were Roman citizens.

It is a credit to the disreputable and bloodthirsty Commodus that he gave ear to the petition of his distant tenants. He issued a Rescript which commanded the strict observance in future of the "Standing Order" for the estate. This Standing Order was certainly one which expressed the provisions of Hadrian's law to which the suppliants had referred in their petition. To what extent the rescript was of any lasting effect remains of course wholly uncertain.

The second inscription was found just thirty years ago in quite a different part of Roman Africa. At Ain Wassel or Ouassel, near the Roman town of Thysdrus, the Crown Land Agent of an Imperial estate at that place, one Patroclus by name, in the reign of Septimius Severus dedicated an altar upon which was inscribed a copy, it seems, of Hadrian's "law concerning uncultivated lands" together with the rents to be charged to the squatters who had availed themselves of its provisions. The copy was illiterate to begin with, and it has been badly mutilated. Enough remains to show the nature of the inscription and a few of the

[1] Cf. Heitland, "Agricola," pp. 357-358.

permissory rights. Olive yards planted on the reclaimed land were to be free of rent for ten years after the trees were first put in, and orchards similarly for seven years. But much remains uncertain, and still more has been lost completely.[1] At the very outset of his reign Hadrian had granted a 25 per cent rent-reduction to some of the Crown tenants in Egypt.[2] Now in these two laws the Emperor shows consideration towards his tillers of the soil in Africa. There exist many praises in general terms of his care for the provinces.

"Hadrian tended and restored them, by forethought, by generosity, by cleverness, by never stirring up a war, by making all wars to cease. He took no man's goods unjustly. He gave gifts to many, both to communities and to individuals, to Senators and Knights. He was most liberal to cities. No Emperor visited so many cities as did he. He came to the succour, as it were, of them all. To some he gave aqueducts; to others, harbours; to others, public buildings, properties, honours." [3]

"Hunger there was in his days," writes his biographer, "and pestilence and earthquake. For all he took such heed as lay within his power, and gave help to many a ruined town." [4]

Such praises form a fitting prelude to the narrative of Hadrian's services to Greece and Asia. In Africa the Emperor reviewed and encouraged his soldiers, and, as a wise and kindly landlord, made new provision for his tenants' welfare. In panegyric the particular always arrests the attention better than does the general statement.

Hadrian returned to Rome from Africa in the autumn of the year of his visit, A.D. 128. Within a few weeks he set out once more for the East, and spent the winter, as three years earlier, at Athens.[5] On this, his second Imperial journey to the East, he was accompanied by Sabina.

[NOTE TO § 3

Hadrian's Land Laws for Africa

The two later inscriptions are:

(1) The petition of the "coloni": C.I.L. VIII, 10570; Bruns, "Fontes," ed. 6, No. 80. Found in 1879 at Souk el Khmis = the Saltus Burunitanus. Cf. Mommsen, "Hermes," XV, 385-408 (reprinted in Ges. Schr. III, 153-176); Hirschfeld, "Beamten," 134, 135; Reid, "Municipalities," p. 322; Heitland, "Agricola," pp. 346-348.

(2) The "Ara legis Hadrianae": Bruns, "Fontes," ed. 6, No. 162. Discussed at length by A. Schulten ap. "Hermes," XXIX (1894), pp. 204-230, and ap. "Klio," VII, pp. 188-212; J. Carcopino, "Klio," VIII,

[1] See note at end of this chapter.

[2] Viz. the "coloni" of Apollonopolites district. See Kornemann, "Ein Erlass Hadrians," ap. "Klio," VIII, pp. 398-412.

[3] Dio 69, 5, 1-3. [4] *Vita* 21, 5. [5] See Appendix C.

pp. 154-185. It is full of difficult technicalities. Cf. also Heitland, "Agricola," pp. 349-351.

It remains uncertain whether the "Lex Hadriana" of (1) is or is not the "Lex Hadriana de ruderibus agris" of (2). Patroclus may have put up sections only of one comprehensive general land law on his altar. It is also uncertain whether, on the hypothesis of such a single general law, this applied (*a*) to the whole Empire, (*b*) to Africa only, or (*c*) to Crown lands, the Imperial saltus, in Africa only. The third is the view which I have followed in the text. Cf. Kornemann ap. "Klio," VIII, p. 412.

The inscription of Hadrian's own day, that of Ain el Djemala, refers to the same group of estates as (2) above, but it is so fragmentary that its main use is to assist in the interpretation of (2). It deals with the same question of the right to cultivate waste or derelict lands, and is an appeal to Hadrian's procurators. The appellants base their claim on a Lex Manciana; the agents in their reply refer them to the Lex Hadriana. The relation between the two laws and indeed the whole character of the Lex Manciana are matters of dispute. The latter, which may be of Trajan's day and either a law for a private estate (as Heitland) or (as Rostowzew holds) a general Imperial law, very likely served Hadrian as a precedent, but does not detract from the credit due to him for his own agrarian legislation. Cf. Heitland, "Agricola," pp. 351-353.]

CHAPTER VII

HADRIAN IN GREECE

§ 1. The Emperor's philhellenism.
§ 2. In the Peloponnese and at Megara.
§ 3. In Central Greece.
§ 4. At Athens.

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. The Emperor's Philhellenism

HADRIAN paid two visits to Athens when he was Emperor. The first was in the winter of A.D. 125-126; the second took place when he was on his journey to the East in A.D. 128. On the first occasion certainly, possibly also on the second as well, he seized the opportunity of seeing other ancient cities of historic memories. The whole land is full of memorials of this philhellenic Emperor.

Hadrian's coming is said to have caused, at least in Athens herself, a "Renaissance," [1] so sorely abused is this hard-worked word. It seems that Megara, "alone of Greek cities," [2] failed to respond to the quickening influence.[3] Certainly, Hadrian lavished gifts upon city after city, and not only upon "Athens his beloved".[4] Of what value were these pleasing tokens of Imperial sympathy?

One German writer [5] lays stress upon the practical nature of the benefits bestowed by the Emperor. He did not concern himself with the past glories of Greece only, nor did he treat the inhabitants "like other Emperors with a mixture of ironical pity and laughing scorn". (What would Nero have thought of such a remark?) Hence, thanks to Hadrian, "deceptive gleams of a new brilliance shone over the land". Whether the Greeks of his day were really in need of new temples, new buildings, new games, even of new baths, remains somewhat doubtful. Could a now "deep-sunken folk" be uplifted again into a sober respectable life of some material prosperity by such means? Yet Hadrian never devised the alternative of an Imperial Villa for summer residence. How superior was the value of William of Hohenzollern to Corfu!

[1] Bury p. 505, copying Wachsmuth p. 686; going back to Pausanias I, 20, 7.

[2] Ib. I, 36, 3.

[3] See below, p. 110.

[4] "Seiner Lieblingstadt," Wachsmuth, p. 686. There is much Teutonic sloppy sentiment expended on this topic.

[5] Hertzberg, "Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer," II, pp. 299-358. A similar tendency to magniloquence is to be found in Miss Jane Harrison's Preface to Harrison and Verrall, "Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens," while Gregorovius excels even himself in his discursive flapdoodle when he writes of Hadrian in Greece. The philhellenic Die-hards in Oxford are very ready to follow suit. In the immortal words of the Carpenter, "the butter's spread too thick".

The Greek cities were faintly stirred by the Roman Emperor's presence. When he passed on, they quickly sank back into their customary decrepitude and sloth. Such was the issue of "a hollow neo-Attic revival," the "irony of a magnificence purely external". Hadrian "could not stay the progress of that death which is from within".[1]

In the cities of Greece, as in those of Asia, and especially in Athens, the Emperor granted and received innumerable honours. There is no clear indication that he was ever a sentimental traveller. Outpourings of tearful emotion over "the glory that was Greece" are more appropriate west of the Atlantic than to a Roman Prince who, intelligent, inquisitive, critical, interested, yet had ample opportunities for knowing personally the inhabitants of the glorious land. For his favourite plaything he might choose a (Bithynian) Greek. For his generals, his administrators, his civil servants, he perhaps relied less upon the homeland of culture.[2]

Sentiment apart, in Greece Hadrian travelled widely, and was both appreciative and appreciated.[3] No single remark of his concerning any Greek town or landscape has been preserved. It may be that Egypt was presently to exert a greater fascination over him than he ever admitted in Greece. All that remains to us is a dull record of his activities at Athens, and a still more meagre one as well of those in other cities. It is thanks entirely to the gossiping guide-book to Greece written some fifty years later by the archæologist Pausanias that any, even the least, breath of life still blows about Hadrian's tours in the country.

§ 2. In the Peloponnese and at Megara

Hadrian paid two visits to Sparta, although there was little to engage his interest in the buildings of this city, nor did he add to their number. Sparta, most renowned of cities, "was one of those States which mark the world, but not individual sites, by their achievements. As Thucydides saw long ago, the history of such States must always lack archæological evidence."[4] The Roman Emperor on the lonely site has increased neither the labours nor the joy of the excavator.

In Arcadia, neighbouring district to Laconia, the city of Mantinea had three reasons for the welcome given to Hadrian.[5]

[1] Miss J. E. Harrison, op. cit. Preface, p. viii. Cf. note above.

[2] Arrian however was of Nicomedia.

[3] Any attempt to plan out a precise itinerary for his tours is idle. Cf. Appendix C.

[4] F. J. Haverfield ap. G. Macdonald: "Proceedings of British Academy," IX, p. 16. At Sparta—cf. Ann. Brit. School XII, 359, 457; XIII, 208; XIV, 139. C.I.G. 1241, 1308-1312, 1348.

[5] Pausanias VIII, 8, 12; 11, 8; 10, 2, 3. I use J. G. Frazer's translation for the most part.

This ancient but unfortunate city had long since been bereft, not only of her importance, but even of her very name. In the stormy days at the close of the third century B.C. the victorious Achaean League had shown to her no mercy. These Achaean Federalists, reduced by their own incompetence to a painful subserviency to the ruler of Macedon, King Antigonus Doson, in whose honour the League's old President Aratus had "put garlands on his head and danced, all for a rotten Macedonian," [1] found other methods besides whereby to curry favour with the Regent, their dangerous protector. Mantinea was compelled to change her name to Antigoneia, and Antigoneia the city had remained since that melancholy day. Hadrian first "restored" to her her former name. He also did honour to the grave of the great Greek soldier, Epameinondas of Thebes, who in the moment of victory had fallen at Mantinea nearly five centuries before. "There are two slabs set up over the grave," says Pausanias in his guide book. "One is old with a Boeotian inscription; the other was placed there by the Emperor Hadrian, who composed the inscription on it." Among the Roman's literary works this, his tribute to the Theban, has not been preserved.

The third of the tales of Hadrian's visit to Mantinea as given by Pausanias is of livelier interest.

A mile from the town there lay an ancient shrine of Poseidon, Lord of Horses,[2] which was built of logs of venerable oak. Its sanctity was preserved by nothing stronger than a mere thread of wool, which encircled the holy precinct. "This was enough," Pausanias avers, "to keep the pious folk of those days away from the shrine. Or maybe," he adds doubtfully, "there was some virtue in the thread." Nor was legend lacking to confirm this. Once on a time a hardy sceptic cut the thread and went in. "A wave passed over his eyes, quenching their sight, and he immediately expired."

The practical Roman took cruder precautions against any such outrage. "The present sanctuary," writes Pausanias, "was built by the Emperor Hadrian. He set overseers over the workmen that no man might peep into the ancient shrine, and that none of its ruins might be removed, and he commanded them to build a wall round the new Temple." A revived Age of Faith never can attain to the simplicity of its forerunner.

New and old alike, wall as well as woollen thread,—time has devoured them, and scarcely a trace remains even of the more solid enclosure of divinity.

If at Mantinea Poseidon was given a new temple, the Goddess Hera at Mycenae rejoiced rather in a peacock. "Amongst the

[1] Plutarch, Aratus, 45: doubtless from Phylarchus.
[2] Ποσειδῶν Ἵππιος. But Frazer's "Horse Poseidon" has a comic sound.

remarkable dedicatory offerings," says Pausanias concerning the Heraeum here, " is a peacock of gold and shining stones, dedicated by the Emperor Hadrian because this bird is considered sacred to Hera ". [1] The grave Scottish commentator adds: " On an Argive coin of Hadrian's time a peacock is represented with its tail spread: probably a copy of Hadrian's votive offering ". [2] How could the Emperor have offered the Goddess a peacock with its tail *not* spread? Where could he have set the " shining stones " ? But wisdom is justified of her antiquarians.

Near to Mycenae lay Argos. On this city the Roman bestowed more familiar favours. Notable among the many ancient Grecian festivals, the Nemean Games had for centuries been celebrated every other year in the month of July. But so shorn had they now become of former glories that the pony race for boys was no longer an item in the programme. This indeed has been ascribed to " the general impoverishment of Greece ". [3] Perhaps at a time when in Greece " the very boys ceased to play at soldiers " [4] it was the pluck of the youngsters rather than the breeding of the ponies which failed. There is a fragment of evidence which suggests that Hadrian instituted a new " Winter Nemean festival," to be held at Argos, not at Nemea itself. If he made the boys' pony race once more a feature of the games, was it that he found a more spirited set of lads in the ancient Peloponnesian city than in effeminate Nemea? [5]

Corinth was always a practical rather than a religious city. To her Hadrian wisely gave an aqueduct, carrying water from the spring of Stymphalus, twenty-five miles away over the mountains. Corinth became a city of fountains and rejoiced in many public baths, one of which was also Hadrian's gift to her.[6] The aqueduct has perished, nor can even its line be traced.

Beyond the Isthmus of Corinth, the traveller eastwards to Megara, as he draws near to this town, passes along the " Scironian Way," famous in the story of Theseus.

" ' And after that,' said another, ' you must go inland, and not dare to pass over the cliffs of Sciron ; for on the left hand are the mountains, and on the right the sea, so that you have no escape, but must needs meet Sciron the robber, who will make you wash his feet ; and while you are washing them he will kick you over the cliff to the tortoise who lives below and feeds upon the bodies of the dead. . . .'

[1] Pausanias II, 17, 6.
[2] Frazer, ad loc.
[3] Sokoloff ap. " Klio," V, p. 226.
[4] Mommsen.
[5] Cf. Eckhel II, 288 ; Frazer ap. Paus. II, 15, 3, and VI, 16, 5 ; Unger, Philolog. 36, 59 ; 37, 540. Sokoloff's doubts ap. " Klio," V, 226-227, are not more convincing than is the positive evidence.
[6] Pausanias VIII, 22, 3 ; II, 3, 5. There is an eloquent description of the Stymphalian Mere in Frazer, " Pausanias,' Vol. IV, pp. 268-274.

" Then he went over the hills towards Megara, keeping close along the Saronic sea, till he came to the cliffs of Sciron and the narrow path between the mountain and the sea.

" And there he saw Sciron sitting. . . . Then Theseus rushed upon him, and sore was the battle upon the cliff. . . .

" Then Theseus lifted him up all bruised and said ' Come hither and wash my feet. . . .'

" And Sciron washed his feet trembling; and when it was done, Theseus rose, and cried, ' As thou hast done to others, so shall it be done to thee. Go feed thy tortoise thyself '; and he kicked him over the cliff into the sea. . . .

" This at least is true, which Pausanias tells, that in the royal porch at Athens he saw the figure of Theseus modelled in clay, and by him Sciron the robber falling headlong into the sea." [1]

There was never any love lost between Athens and her next-door Dorian neighbour Megara. Sciron, the brigand of Athenian legend, became in Megarian tradition " a man of exemplary life, the foe of robbers, who made the highway from Megara to the Isthmus of Corinth ": Theseus, King of Athens, slew him in battle, when the Athenian was warring with the rival city for the possession of Eleusis.

" A Roman Imperator," remarks a learned English writer who became a bishop, " may sometimes rise to the ideal dignity of the ' happy warrior,' but at other moments he falls to the standard of an ordinary brigand." [2] On the Scironian Way the Emperor Hadrian had a falling moment:

" The road," Pausanias writes, " which is still named after Sciron was first, they say, made passable for foot passengers by Sciron when he was War-Minister of Megara; but the Emperor Hadrian made it so wide and convenient that even chariots could meet on it."

Hadrian's road in the nineteenth century had degenerated into " a mere track hardly possible even for horses and dangerous in stormy weather ". To-day, road again and railway make the route safe. But still there may be seen marks of wheels, sub-structures of masonry, " probably vestiges of the carriage road which Hadrian constructed along this wild and beautiful coast ".[3]

In Megara itself the Emperor rebuilt the old temple of Apollo, giving the God white marble in place of his former habitation of brick.[4] A new guild, called the Adrianidae, was formed, on which the donor bestowed not only a code of rules but maintenance as

[1] C. Kingsley, " The Heroes "—an accurate description of Plutarch's story.

[2] John Wordsworth, Bampton Lectures 1881, p. 3—in the discourse which so excited the wrath of the Oxford Liberal Party of the day.

[3] Pausanias I, 44, 6; Frazer II, p. 547.

[4] Pausanias I, 42, 5.

well.[1] Yet a curse rested on hapless little Megara. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, five and a half centuries ago, the Athenian Pericles had sent his herald Anthemocritus as envoy to the town. The Megarians slew him upon the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Whereafter their city languished, insomuch that " they were the only Greek people whom even the Emperor Hadrian could not make to thrive ".[2]

Yet the Megarians themselves always protested stoutly their innocence of the unholy deed. Evil neighbours to them indeed were the Athenians, who not only turned their patriot minister into a sorry brigand, but could dictate a curse so lasting as to baffle the generosity even of a Roman Emperor.

§ 3. In Central Greece

The Imperial gifts to towns of Central Greece beyond the Attic frontier were but few in number. Abae received a small temple of Apollo ;[3] Hyampolis a colonnade ;[4] Thespiae a bear-skin, to keep Eros warm when the urchin God came to his shrine there.[5] There is no evidence that Hadrian travelled widely in the district. He may however have journeyed as far north as the vale of Tempe.[6] But he could not omit Delphi from his itinerary.

At Delphi there still persisted a precious fragment of primeval antiquity, as venerable as it was ridiculously futile, the Amphictyonic Council itself. Other Roman Emperors, Augustus first, possibly Trajan recently, had striven by alterations and improvements to galvanize this Assembly into a show of life after a long period of moribund torpor. But who can make a Body, even a Representative Body, live when it has no vital function to perform ? The Amphictyons continued to meet together placidly, quite happy if at their formal meetings they could waste a little time by passing equally formal votes of thanks and complimentary decrees. It is not only the Englishman who loves a Committee just for its own sake. The Lotus-eaters in the land where it is always afternoon surely debated concerning Summer Time together.

The usual Amphictyonic Decree at Delphi in honour of Hadrian has this much alone of faint interest in its passing, inasmuch as Plutarch the writer was priest and scribe to the Council then. If this befel in A.D. 126 he was at least an octogenarian in years,

[1] C.I.G. 1072. Possibly a new " tribe," as at Athens and Phrygian Eumenia. Cf. Frazer ap. Pausanias I, 5, 5, and Vol. II, p. 80.

[2] Pausanias I, 36, 3. Cf. Plutarch, Pericles, 30. Anthemocritus has been supposed to be represented in the statue known as the " Dying Gladiator ".

[3] Ib. X, 35, 4. [4] Ib. 6. [5] See above, p. 16.

[6] See Appendix C. The Tempe of the Tibur Villa suggests a visit here.

and none would deny the old man so exquisite a pleasure.[1] Surely Hadrian would leave the Council's Constitution unimpaired by reforming zeal ? [2] The Roman, even in the land of Greece, was not given to hopeless futilities. The Council enjoyed for yet a few more years the senility of decrepitude. After the Age of the Antonines it is heard of no more.[3] It was of great age, and both decorative and innocuous. Some Assemblies could not make these boasts.

Another ornamental gathering sent its compliments to reach Hadrian at Delphi. This was the " meeting of Hellenes at Platea," which gathered annually to celebrate the Greek victory over the Persian invader, won more than six centuries ago. To combine with so pleasing a display of national sentiment the praises of a Roman Lord, " Saviour, Protector, Nourisher of his very own Hellas," added the sauce of piquancy to the dish, now a trifle stale, served at the Festival of Freedom.[4]

But not Amphictyons, nor Votes of Honour, had called Hadrian to Delphi. Would Apollo be gracious and through his frenzied priestess vouchsafe an answer to an Imperial votary from over-seas ?

The question which Hadrian solemnly propounded in person to the Pythia is illuminating both of his own mild dilettante curiosity and of the small value which could be attached in his day to the Oracle of Delphi. He chose what was at once the chief and the most fatuous riddle of ancient literature.

" Where," asked the Emperor, " was Homer born, and who were his parents ? "

The answer to so novel a question came promptly. It was at least decisive :

> " Thou askest of his country, th' ambrosial Siren's race ?
> Telemachus his father was, and Ithaca his place ;
> His mother, Polycaste—old Nestor's child was she—
> Who gave him birth, of human kind the wisest far to be." [5]

Ambrosial Siren, like Rain odours, well ! The oracle was at least not " void of uncertainty," and Homer was proved of quite respectable parentage. Hadrian was more favoured by Apollo than was a cynical philosopher, his contemporary, Oeno-maus by name. " Where," he asked the God at his oracular shrine at Colophon, " where shall I go now ? " " Draw a long bow," came the divine retort, " and knock over untold green-feeding ganders." " And what," the cynic plaintively asked once

[1] Dittenberger, Syll. I, 379. Plutarch was born about A.D. 45.
[2] Reid, " Municipalities," p. 417, thinks Hadrian also tinkered with its constitution, I do not know on what authority.
[3] Cf. Foucart ap. Daremberg et Saglio, sub voc.
[4] Dittenberger, Syll. I², 383. [5] Anthol. Palat. XIV, 102.

more, "what might these untold ganders be?" But now Apollo held his peace.

A few years later, Hadrian accomplished "his strangest achievement" by founding an oracle himself.[1] Had his experience at Delphi so moved him? At least the Pythia could not be proved in error, and her poetry was up to the standard of the day. Yet how commonplace the response to the philhellenic Emperor from that shrine whence, many years later there came to his successor Julian "in unknown fashion the last fragment of Greek poetry which has moved the hearts of men, the last Greek hexameters which retain the ancient cadence, the majestic melancholy flow".[2]

Still pursuing after religious excitement, Hadrian came to Eleusis seeking initiation into the Mysteries, for which that Attic town was renowned. There were two grades of enlightenment. At the first, the votary became a "mystic"; at the second, as an "epopt" or "seer," he was admitted to the innermost secrets.[3] One year's interval at least must separate the taking of the two degrees. Hadrian attained the lower rank on his arrival in Greece in the autumn of A.D. 125. He reserved the higher and concluding ceremony for his second coming three years later.[4] In no case, not even a Roman Emperor's, were details of the holy rites disclosed. Eleusis kept her secrets well. It is equally idle to enquire whether Hadrian was moved by a sense of curiosity, a sense of policy, or a sense of sin, when he sought initiation. That he had a pretty taste in religious matters is shown also by his care for the Dionysiac Festival at Athens.[5] But the words which fell from his dying lips in after years reveal at the last a man who, whether jesting or wistful, was devoid of religious belief or strong hope for any personal immortality for the sanctified. There is, indeed, nothing to show that Eleusis ever bestowed such faith or hope upon her initiate children.

Another priestly poetess duly celebrated Hadrian's devotion at Eleusis. In laboured elegiacs Demeter's priestess explained to the attentive world that she had initiated, not the Dioscuri, not

[1] Antinous' Oracle at Antinoe. See below, Chapter VIII, § 3.

[2] Myres, "Greek Oracles," ap. "Hellenica," p. 447.

[3] See Lobeck, "Aglaophonos," I, 34-35; Pauly, R.-E. sub voc. Epoptes VI, p. 248.

[4] The mysteries were celebrated in the autumn (A. Mommsen, "Heortologie," 71, 269, 373). It is certain from S. Jerome, II, p. 167 (ed. Schoene), and Eusebius, Chron. (preserved by the ninth century chronographer Georgius Syncellus, pp. 659, 660), that Hadrian took both steps. A. Mommsen supposes that he took the second at a special celebration in the winter, a few months after his first. This seems building too much on the order of the words in the late chronology of Eusebius. It is not very likely that he followed the ingenious example of a royal predecessor, Demetrius Poliorcetes, who by juggling with the calendar compressed his necessary year's interval into a single month. The *Vita* 13, 1, mentions the first initiation, Dio the second. The latter fails to make any distinction between Hadrian's two visits to Athens.

[5] See below, p. 117.

Asclepius, not Heracles, but Hadrian "Lord of all, who has showered endless wealth upon all cities, but especially upon those of famous Cecropia".[1] The effusion of her sister bard at Delphi was not more stiff or pedantic. The Roman Emperor failed of inspiration to the Muses of his dominions.

He paid his thanks to Eleusis by building a new bridge for the small town when its river, the Cephisus, overflowed its banks and did much damage.[2]

And so, at last, with the liveliest expectation, we attend in his train to Athens.

§ 4. At Athens

The whole of the time devoted by Hadrian to all the other cities of Greece together must have been exceeded by that which he gave to Athens. As is an Englishman's love for Florence, as is his resolute desire, when he leaves her, to return to her once more, so the Roman, not content with one winter spent at Athens,[3] found her fascination draw him back again for a second and a prolonged stay within her walls.[4] Yet so parched and jejune are the records of the Emperor's two visits that, while the archæologist finds some pleasure in them, the historian can hardly share in this. No incident, no legend, no saying lends colour to the narrative.

"He gave much to the Athenians," writes the ancient biographer concerning the first visit, "and took his seat as president at the games."[5] Of the second he says with equal brevity, "He journeyed through Athens and dedicated the works which he had begun among the Athenians, such as the Temple of Olympian Jupiter and the altar to himself".[6] The same writer makes three other incidental remarks, that Hadrian was Archon at Athens,[7] that he exhibited a hunt of one thousand wild beasts in the stadium at Athens,[8] and that he gave to a part of Athens the name of Hadrianopolis.[9]

The professed historian tells but little more.[10] He knows of one visit only. "Hadrian," he writes, "finished the Olympion in Athens, in which is his own statue, and dedicated in it a serpent brought from India. And having held the greatest magistracy among the Athenians, he celebrated the Dionysia splendidly in native costume. He charged the Hellenes to build his own tomb, called the Panhellenion, and established competitions there, and

[1] C.I.G. 434 = Kaibel, Epig. Graec. 863.
[2] Eusebius, Chron. ap. Georg. Sync. p. 659.
[3] A.D. 125-126. [4] A.D. 128-129. [5] *Vita* 13, 1. [6] *Vita* 13, 6.
[7] *Vita* 19, 1, i.e. under Trajan in A.D. 112. C.I.L. III, 550. See above, p. 33.
[8] *Vita* 19, 3. [9] *Vita* 20, 4.
[10] Of course Dio is preserved in excerpts only.

granted to the Athenians many goods and corn yearly and the whole of Cephallenia. He also made many laws, among them one which forbade any Councillor to purchase any tax either himself or through an agent." [1]

The third ancient source is the archæologist Pausanias. His statements are somewhat more ample, but lack exhilaration equally.

After calling Hadrian " the benefactor of his subjects and especially of Athens," and stating that his statue stood in the market-place side by side with that of Zeus the Liberator, Pausanias proceeds as follows :

" In my time also there was a tribe [at Athens] called after the Emperor Hadrian, the prince who did most for the glory of God [2] and the happiness of his subjects. He never made war of his own free will, but he quelled the revolt of the Hebrews who dwell over above the Syrians. The sanctuaries that he either built or adorned with votive offerings and other fittings, and the gifts that he bestowed on Greek cities and the barbarians who sought his bounty, are all recorded at Athens in the common Sanctuary of the Gods." [3]

A curious and an unattractive theory has been based by a German upon this passage. It is well known that Augustus had published a record of his deeds, part of which survives engraved upon a temple's walls at Ancyra. Pausanias, suggests the German, took this information concerning Hadrian from another such manifesto which the later Emperor in emulous rivalry had inscribed in the Pantheon at Athens. And his jealousy is further apparent in this, that he chooses to pose as benefactor of all peoples, whereas Augustus " knew nothing of any good save that which he did to the Roman people ". And thus Hadrian of set intention, " Olympian already in his lifetime, monarch of the bilingual World-Empire, over-trumped Augustus who conquered the world for the Romans ".[4]

From this exuberant Teutonic fancy we return to Pausanias' account :

" Before you come to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus there are two statues of Hadrian in Thasian and two in Egyptian stone. It was Hadrian the Roman Emperor who dedicated the Temple and Image of Olympian Zeus. The image is worth seeing. It surpasses in size all other images except the Colossi at Rhodes

[1] Dio 69, 16, 1, 2.

[2] So Frazer. Some will prefer the more sober Verrall, " a man pre-eminently distinguished for his piety ".

[3] Pausanias I, 3, 2 ; 5, 5.

[4] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff ap. " Hermes," XXI, 623-624. Mommsen also (Ges. Schr. IV, p. 254) comments in somewhat similar style upon the " Res gestae " of both " merkwürdigen Herrscher ".

and Rome: it is made of ivory and gold, and considering the size the workmanship is good.

"Before the columns stand bronze statues which the Athenians call the 'Colonies'. The whole enclosure is just four furlongs round about and is full of statues; for every city set up a statue of the Emperor Hadrian, but the Athenians surpassed them all by erecting the notable Colossus behind the temple. . . . They say that the old sanctuary of Olympian Zeus was built by Deucalion." [1]

Pausanias at least is not exuberant. Helbig on the Capitoline Museum is more stimulating.

The Greek archæologist then continues stonily:

"Hadrian also built for the Athenians a temple of Hera and [another of] Panhellenian Zeus and a sanctuary common to all the Gods. But most splendid of all are one hundred columns: walls and colonnades alike are made of Phrygian marble. Here too is a building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster, and also with statues and paintings: books are stored in it.

"There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian; it too has one hundred columns from the quarries of Libya." [2]

The general impression left upon the mind is of an Athens, like the Roman forum, choked with statues; like Karnak, gravely impeded by columns.

Some expansion of this ancient literary evidence may be expected. Indeed, other information justifies this.

Certainly Hadrian divided Athens into two parts. Or at least, he extended her buildings so far beyond the ancient city limits that there arose a "New Athens," due to him and called after his name. If the Roman sacrificed Carthage to his inveterate passion for Hadrianopoleis, why should he spare the Greek city? At some later date there was erected a great arch of Pentelic marble, 59 feet in height and 44 in breadth, which separated "Hadrianopolis" from "Athens". This arch still stands. It bears the "pompous" inscription, on the side towards the Acropolis, "This is Athens, city of Theseus": on the opposite side, facing the remains of the Olympieion, "This is the city of Hadrian, not of Theseus". Thus would the Roman rival the Attic legendary hero who first created the city of Athens by amalgamating into one community the scattered hamlets of the neighbourhood.[3] Yet perhaps the arch was but a landmark on

[1] Pausanias I, 18, 6. I substitute "Colossi" for Frazer's "Colossuses".

[2] Ib. 9.

[3] C.I.A. III, 402; = C.I.G. 520; = Kaibel, Ep. Graec. 10456. Cf. Gardner, "Anc. Athens," pp. 498-499; Frazer, "Pausanias," II, p. 188; Harrison and Verrall, "Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens," pp. 193-195; Wachsmuth, "Stadt Athen," I, p. 687. That the arch was not built by Hadrian seems proved by Pausanias' silence concerning it and the inferiority of its architecture.

an imposing scale, akin to the pillar on the isthmus of Corinth,[1] or to the Three-shire Stone on Wrynose Pass. Neither was Hadrian himself responsible, it seems, for this piece of bombast. The aqueduct from Lycabettus which Hadrian began for the water supply of his new city was completed by Antoninus Pius in A.D. 140.[2]

This somewhat farcical division of Athens made no difference in her political status. She remained, by Rome's long-standing favour, a " free city," one with unhampered rights of self-determination in internal affairs. To Justice and Administration she applied her ancient laws, those of Draco, Solon, and other legislators of her glorious past. But Hadrian, distressed by their chaotic condition, had them codified.[3] This code unhappily is lost. At the time it was of little but domestic interest. It was at Rome, and at this very time, that there was a codification of law in the making which should influence the world for many generations.[4]

As in Africa earlier, so now in Attica, the land and its products interested the Roman Emperor. The olive was still as important to Athens' own welfare as ever were her laws and her philosophies. Hadrian issued a regulation by which the Municipality, for public purposes, should have the right to enforce its claim to a proportion of the olive oil which was produced and sold by the owners of the olive-yards and the merchants. Possibly the town might have seisin of a third.[5] The soil of Attica was productive and needed no encouragement. In Italy there had been introduced, some thirty years before, that Roman " Alimentary System " whereby the struggling farmer could borrow from the State on mortgage at reasonable terms loans to tide him over difficulties, and the interest on the loan was devoted to the maintenance of poor children. But the view that Hadrian now introduced this same system into Attica lacks all confirmation.[6] It was the Emperor's building activity which was the cause that the Athenians began to date a new era from the time of his first visit to them.[7] From the days of Cimon and of Pericles the Athenian proletariate could

[1] Strabo IX, p. 392.

[2] C.I.L. III, 549. Cf. Gardner, pp. 28-29 ; Wachsmuth, p. 689.

[3] Cassiodorus, Chron. p. 636, A.D. 126. Cf. Eusebius, Chron. ap. Georg. Sync. p. 659. Krüger ap. Mommsen and Marquardt, Staatsverw. XVI, p. 157, note (in the French translation), regards this as " a most singular event ".

[4] See below, Chapter XII.

[5] C.I.G. 355 = C.I.A. III, 38. Cf. E. Curtius, Stadtgesch. von Athen, p. 266.

[6] C.I.A. III, 61, is a fragmentary list of Attic names, with a farm and a sum of money against each. It may be an " obligatio praediorum " (Mommsen). But it contains no hint of its object, and its date is very uncertain, being ascribed now to the end of the first century A.D. (Mommsen) ; now to Hadrian (Dittenberger) ; now to post-Diocletian times. Cf. Mommsen ap. " Hermes," V, 129 ; Schiller p. 623.

[7] Cf. Dittenberger ap. " Hermes," VII, 213-218. C.I.A. III, 692, 735, 1107.

always appreciate a form of public generosity which provided employment at good wages and also (for these were Greeks) satisfied the artistic sense.

The Stoa or Colonnade of Hadrian was a quadrangular court measuring 400 by 270 feet, surrounded by a cloister supported by one hundred columns. Five rooms opened out of the court on its eastern side. In its centre was the " building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster," where were stored the books. The library, says an old chronicler, " was of marvellous workmanship ". How much more gladly should we recover a fraction of its contents than any or all of the innumerable statues of Hadrian which encumbered Athens.

Up to the year 1886 the whole court was roofed in and used as a provision market. It was surmounted, first by the clock which Lord Elgin presented in exchange for the " Elgin marbles," later by a substitute made in Germany. The original bargain probably pleased both sides.[1]

In the theatre of Dionysus, where in March, A.D. 126, Hadrian himself presided over the festival of the Greater Dionysia, each Attic tribe set up a statue of the Emperor in the blocks of seats with appropriate inscriptions. It is to be hoped that some variety of treatment compensated for monotony of subject. Relics of three out of the twelve remain.[2]

But of all Hadrian's works in Athens, the two most conspicuous were the Panhellenion and the Olympieion. Of the former, as similarly of his Gymnasium, Pantheon, and Temple of Hera, no vestige is left. The Olympieion has better withstood both Time and Turk.

The Panhellenion was a new temple of Zeus Panhellenios. Something is known of the new " Panhellenic Games " associated with it, and of the " Synod of Panhellenes " which held its meetings there. Of the building itself nothing is known.

The Games were of the usual type, and included boxing contests.[3] They were perhaps associated closely with the training-schools of the Athenian youths, the " epheboi ". These " cadets " certainly took part in the festival, receiving a subvention for the purpose from the special " Fund for Emperor Worship ". At

[1] C.I.A. III, 10. A long description of the Stoa with ground plan in Harrison pp. 195-199.

[2] C.I.A. III, 466-469. Cf. Curtius p. 471 ; Gardner p. 450.

[3] C.I.A. III, 128. This pugilist did not lack self-appreciation. " Alone and first of all boxers from time immemorial he conquered in succession at the Panhellenia, Olympia, Isthmia, Hadrianeia, at Rome."

Cf. C.I.A. III, 10, 127, 129, 681. The games are called the Great Panhellenia in an inscription of epheboi about A.D. 245 (C.I.A. III, 1199), and the ἱερώτατος ἀγών in the third century record of an official who was also caretaker of Hadrian's Stoa and gymnasium (C.I.A. III, 10). Cf. Daremberg et Saglio sub voc., and A. Mommsen, " Feste der Stadt Athen," pp. 168-170.

close of the games, the lads held a " Breaking-up " feast,[1] before going gleefully off home for the holidays, " paying," says the record carefully, " no tips except to the Bath-attendant only ". This was towards the end of August. In the years when the festival did not take place, the supper parties may have been less jovial.[2]

The Games attracted the best-known competitors from every part of Greece. There is a record of an athlete, Valerius Eclectus by name, a victor in these Games about A.D. 250, who proudly enumerates some forty triumphs which he won at contests ranging over the Greco-Roman world from Ephesus and Smyrna to Rome itself—a truly valiant " pot-hunter ".[3]

The only interesting feature of the new " Synod of Panhellenes," which met annually in the new temple, is that it included delegates from Greeks, however remote these might be from the homeland. They came, not only from Megara, Argos, Methana, Sparta, Phocis, in Greece proper, but also from Thyatira, Magnesia on the Maeander, Aezania in Phrygia.[4] To this extent the Synod was veritably Panhellenic. " The unity of Hellas was at last accomplished by a stranger's condescension, when it had no longer any political meaning." [5] The Emperor's policy has been called " fantastical," an epithet which is also applicable to the high-flown language used by modern writers in describing this harmless and unimportant Synod. The new " League of Greeks " had one serious duty, the difficult problem of deciding who were really Greek enough to belong to it.[6] When an application was approved, a Decree was passed, and the proud recipients of this " hall-mark " of Hellenic respectability, sent their " Panhellenic " envoy next year to join in the discussion concerning similar requests. The Synod of course also paid compliments. That it " met to consider national affairs " [7] there is no scrap of evidence to show. Neither did it replace or displace the far more useful Council for the Roman Province of Achaea, which continued to meet at Argos undisturbed by the new bantling.[8]

Hadrian himself took the title " Panhellenios ". His other honorary epithet which was as widely used, that of " Olympios,"

[1] Τὰ ἐξιτήρια. [2] C.I.A. III, 1184 ; *c.* A.D. 218.

[3] C.I.A. III, 129. Similar athletes' inscriptions, C.I.A. III, 128 ; C.I.G. 5913.

[4] In order of mention : C.I.G. 1058 ; 1124 ; 1192 ; 1256 ; 1738 ; C.I.A. III, 12 (doubtful : cf. Dittenberger ad loc.) ; C.I.A. III, 16 ; C.I.G. 3832 and 3833.

[5] Bury p. 506 ; as earlier in Curtius (" Athen," p. 269) : " Die Hellenen sollten wieder *eine* Nation sein. So phantastisch diese Politik war, so ist sie doch mit grosser sympathie weit und breit aufgenommen," u.s.w. But Cambridge seems unsympathetic. Oxford sentimentality should improve the occasion.

[6] C.I.A. III, 16 : case of Magnesia. [7] As P.-W. !

[8] For the relations between the Synod and the Provincial Council cf. Dittenberger ad. C.I.A. III, 18.

recalls his finishing of the temple of Olympian Zeus in the winter of A.D. 128-129.[1]

In completing this giant building, the Roman was ending a work begun, or at least greatly expanded, by King Antiochus Epiphanes three hundred years earlier.[2] But the house of the God at Athens dates back at least as far as the days of Peisistratos, if not to a still more remote antiquity. Then the Syrian Greek Antiochus devised his more magnificent temple. For it he employed a Roman architect, one Cossutius. Augustus had planned its completion. The Roman historian, this Emperor's contemporary, describes it rapturously—" unum in terris inchoatum pro magnitudine Dei,"—" the only temple on earth of a magnitude worthy the greatness of the God ".[3] It was fitting that a Roman Emperor at last should finish one of the largest of all Greek temples.

The description given of it is Gargantuan and overpowering. The platform on which it stood measured 676 by 426 feet, and its total circumference 2204 feet. The outer colonnade was composed of more than one hundred Corinthian columns of Pentelic marble, each 56 feet 7 inches high, with 24 flutings. The total height of the front has been estimated at 91 feet. In mediæval times a churlish anchorite had his habitation on the architrave which still joins two of the columns. He must have enjoyed a superb view of the city spread out beneath his gaze.

The ruins of the temple are " by far the most imposing in scale of all the remains of ancient Athens ". Fifteen of its huge columns still are standing. Six have fallen in the last five hundred years. One of these was pulled down by the Turkish governor in 1760, and converted into lime for a new mosque. One was cast down by a hurricane in 1852.

It became as it were a Vatican gallery of statuary. Cities and individuals from every part of the Greek world dedicated statues of Hadrian here.[4] They were brought from Cilicia, from Pontus, from Thrace, from Syria, Caria, Ionia, from the islands of the sea, the cities of the homeland. Among and above them towered the two Colossi, the chryselephantine statue of the God within, the colossus of the Emperor without, the temple. The

[1] Both titles in innumerable inscriptions. Date of the consecration of the Olympieion, cf. I.G. IV, 1052 = Dittenberger, Syll. I², 391. Cf. Kornemann, pp. 55-56; Baunack ap. " Philologus " 54 (1895), p. 29. Dittenberger's date A.D. 131 may be corrected, the ι′ of the inscription being perhaps an error for $\overline{\text{H}}$, i.e. two years earlier. Or the Epidaurian engraver may have been wrong.

[2] I take this account in the main from Frazer, " Pausanias " II, 178-182, who gives a lengthy bibliography. Cf. also Harrison pp. 188-193.

[3] Livy XLI, 20, 8.

[4] To specify more particularly would be indeed tedious. The list of inscriptions is collected in C.I.A. III, 471-525.

bronze "Colonies," emblematic figures, also stood outside, close to the temple pillars.

Such was the building which

> "Adrian reared when drooping Science mourned". [1]

The Emperor presided over the dedication ceremony. "The great struggle of time was ended." A famous orator, Antonius Polemon of Laodicea, pronounced a discourse "of wondrous elegance" from the threshold of the shrine. "Verily," he cried, "the God Himself has inspired the Emperor to this work." [2] And now the Olympian festival was revived again at Athens, and a new reckoning by Olympiads began.[3] Such artificial revivals are not confined to modern days.

Polemon's oration, like many other specimens of turgid Greek claptrap, has perished, and the world is little the poorer for its loss. In its default, the English "philhellene" may embellish the picture with a sentimental pathos once peculiarly his own:

> "Here let me sit upon this mossy stone,
> The marble column's yet unshaken base;
> Here, Son of Saturn, was thy favourite throne,
> Mightiest of many such! Hence let me trace
> The latent grandeur of thy dwelling-place.
> It may not be: not ev'n can Fancy's eye
> Restore what Time hath laboured to deface.
> Yet these proud Pillars claim no passing sigh;
> Unmoved the Moslem sits, the light Greek carols by." [4]

How perilously near together dwell the pathetic and the ridiculous! At least Time has moved the sitting Moslem, and the light Greek, if there be still any such, carols by without reproach.

Still in Hadrian's day Athens arrests the attention, towering above her Greek fellows as some Lombardy poplar among aged willows beside a stagnant quiet stream. Yet she, like these other cities of the Greek mainland, was dying, if not already dead.

She was providing, for her own youths, a spurious military training, the need for which had long since passed away; for these and for many lads from overseas a University education which had no grip of realities and was little but a squandering of their time and of their parents' money alike. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The city was full of contending philosophers, wrangling unceasingly concerning the insoluble, earning their precarious livelihood by the spinning of infinite cobwebs, all of them brushed by Time contemptuously away. An intellectual

[1] Byron, "Curse of Minerva".
[2] Philostratus, Vit. Soph. I, 25, 3. He gets his date wrong.
[3] C.I.A. III, 127; C.I.G. 5913, 5915. Cf. A. Mommsen, "Feste," pp. 467, 468.
[4] Byron, "Childe Harold," II, 10.

stimulus to the student ? What use did he make of his stimulated intellect ?

It was Rome which was alive, which was real, where the work of the world was carried on. It is Imperial Rome which should receive the greater tribute of admiration from that modern world whose speech and civilization are founded upon Rome.

The sentimental lack-lustre philhellenism of the Age of Hadrian was soft and effeminate as the object of its adoration. It was not Greek literature nor Greek art which should save the Roman soul alive in the brutal struggles with barbarism which threatened it. Philhellenism may lay a flattering unction to the languid mind in any age when the battle for existence seems suspended and civilization over-ripe. Even the barbarian may be smeared with its veneer. Not such is the educative influence which will save the fortress when savagery hurls blows upon the gates.

Yet life, mere non-contentious living, ran smoothly and happily in Athens as in many another city of decaying Greece. Why criticize and disparage it ? Why should not Hadrian, Emperor of Rome, flatter and delight the Greek with gifts and games and shows, as some father, pleased with giving toys to a grateful child ?

The metaphor has one defect. The boy will grow to manhood and be his father's defence and stay.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST PLEASURE-JOURNEY

§ 1. To Cappadocia, Syria, Arabia.
§ 2. Through Judea to Egypt.
§ 3. The story of Antinous.
§ 4. The return to Rome.

CHAPTER VIII

§ 1. To Cappadocia, Syria, Arabia

IN the spring of A.D. 129 Hadrian bade a final farewell to Athens, and entered upon perhaps the busiest of all his many crowded years of travel.

He sailed from Eleusis after the celebration of the lesser Eleusinian festival in March, and disembarked again at Ephesus. This time he made no stay here, but journeyed up the Maeander valley and so to Laodicea on the Lycus. Thence his route lay south, by Cibyra to the coast, and on by the Cilician coast road to Tarsus and beyond. His intention was to spend the summer at Antioch, capital of Syria, a town already so well known to him in former years. But he diverged first from the direct road to it in order to review the Cappadocian frontier army, which, alone of all the frontier forces, remained yet for his inspection. The review took place, it seems likely, at Samosata on the Euphrates, which place was now the headquarters of the Sixteenth (Flavian) Legion.[1] Here also he summoned native princes to meet him at a " Durbar," following in this a precedent set by Trajan at Satala fifteen years before. Many chieftains attended and were well pleased at the gracious reception which the Emperor gave to them. There were however at least two refusals of the Roman's invitation. It was beneath the dignity of the " King of Kings," Chosroes of Parthia, now again firmly enthroned upon his ancestral seat of rule at Ctesiphon, to listen to Hadrian's call. But friendly relations none the less continued to exist between the two rival Empires, and the Roman Prince found it unnecessary to make any change in the position of the garrison forts or in the disposition of the troops on the Eastern frontier. There was besides one petty chieftain, Pharasmanes of Iberia, the chief mountain principality of the Caucasus, who refused haughtily to attend the Durbar at Samosata. There followed some raiding and counter punitive measures. Presently the Iberian repented, on receiving an invitation for himself and his Queen to visit the

[1] *Vita* 13, 7-9. There is no evidence other than probability that Samosata was the place of the Durbar. It is also uncertain whether the town received the title of Metropolis from Hadrian or earlier from Vespasian. Cf. Marquardt, Staatsverw. I, 274; Eckhel III, 152.

Court at Rome. Here they came with barbaric pomp in due course, and were hospitably entertained by Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius.[1]

The main Eastern frontier was quiet, and Hadrian soon turned south again to Antioch, arriving at this place in June.

Antioch was a "spoiled city" of the Empire.[2] By its constant turbulence and gay irresponsibility, it gave as much petty annoyance to the Emperors of Rome as ever did Liège in the Middle Ages to the Dukes of Burgundy.[3] Hadrian is said to have been so vexed with the city on this occasion that he planned a division of the province of Syria into two parts, which would have shorn Antioch of at least part of her wealth and complacency. He did not carry out the plan, which, with other and sterner methods of punishment besides, was reserved for the stalwart Septimius Severus, some seventy years later.[4]

There is a local Christian chronicler of Antioch, John Malalas by name, who flourished in the fifth century of our era, whose tales of his Antiochenes, meant as they were for the edification and strengthening of the faithful, fill a rudely critical age with astonishment and a very genuine, if utterly incredulous, amusement. This "ignorant Greek," as Gibbon contemptuously calls him, is proof indeed of the degradation of later Greek historiography. Yet to him is history reduced, when it would speak of Hadrian's benefits to Antioch. John's pious ineptitude is in truth fascinating when it has to speak of Christian martyrs and harassed holy virgins and their treatment at Trajan's hands. Not even this delight lends humour to John's story of Antioch under Hadrian.[5]

"At Antioch the great Hadrian constructed a public bath and an aqueduct, both called after his own name. At the springs of Daphne too he built a theatre; by costly works also he diverted the streams which flowed through the so-called 'Wild Ravines' to the aqueduct for the city's use. He built the 'Shrine of the Source' at Daphne. In this shrine of the Nymphs he set up a large statue, seated, holding in its hand the bird of Zeus, in honour of the Naiads, being thankful to these that he had finished so terrible a work.

[1] Gift of an elephant to Pharasmanes and his "return gift" of "gilded cloaks," much scorned by Hadrian: *Vita* 17, 10-12; cf. 13, 9; 21, 13. But there is woeful confusion, e.g. in Dio 69, 15, and the arrangement of the Dio excerpts is most uncertain. Cf. Boissevain, "Dio" III, p. 235. Alans as usual get mixed up with Albanians, and the names Pharasmanes, Vologaeses, and the like hurtle round the peaks of Caucasus like Promethean eagles. This confusion, however, is just plainness itself compared to the "Sanatruces" problem of Trajan's reign—which here does not concern us.

[2] Reid, "Municipalities," p. 340.

[3] "Quentin Durward" of course.

[4] *Vita* 14, 1; cf. Schiller p. 624; Platnauer, "Septimius Severus," p. 191.

[5] John Malalas, Chron. ed. Bonn, pp. 277-278.

"He made the bubbling water of the so-called Saramannan Fount to run along a channel to the little theatre, and caused the water issuing from the temple to run in five streams. And these streams he called Five Measures, Four Measures, Three Measures, Two Measures, and One Measure.

"He also instituted yearly on each 23rd day of June a 'Festival of the Springs,' with sacrifices.

"There was a ruined spring, named the Spring of Pallas, flowing into the 'Wilds'. He enclosed this, and made it carry water to the dwellers at Holy Daphne."

The city of Antioch was justly renowned for its many running waters and its fountains, as well as for its disreputable pleasure-haunts, the groves of Daphne. John's hydraulics, however useful to the city engineer (if such can have a taste for historical records), do not form an inspiring page in the history of Hadrian. Neither do the monotonous, if practical, names bestowed by the Emperor upon five of the city's innumerable conduits greatly illuminate his inventive genius. John might have done more kindly by him than this.

South of the mouth of the Orontes, some twenty or more miles from the city of Antioch, the rocky mass of Mount Casius, "Jebel el Akra," "the bald mountain," rises up steeply from the very sea. It is 5318 feet high, but the abruptness of the rise from sea level increases the impression of height. To the lazy Syrians, dwellers in the hot and steaming lowlands, it seemed inaccessible, stupendous. Did a climber, said they, reach the summit, he could from it see both day and night together, day on his one hand, night on the other.[1] Zeus had his seat upon the mountain, but the God was merciful to his languid worshippers, and set his temple at the base of it. But the Roman was full of energy. Hadrian set out and climbed the mountain by night, hoping to see the sunrise from the top. Zeus showed his displeasure. The clouds descended and the hail beat upon the Emperor, and the lightning smote both the victim which the Prince was offering in sacrifice and the unhappy acolyte who was making it ready. In this uncomfortable way the local wiseacres could justify their tales of awe.[2]

Hadrian took consolation for his disappointment by writing a poem, in which he depicts Trajan, upon the eve of his departure for the Parthian war, dedicating spoils from Dacia to Casian Zeus, and praying for victory over the new foe:

[1] Pliny, N.H.V. 22. [2] *Vita* 14, 3.

"Trajan, Aeneas' son, to Casian Jove,
The King below to the great King above,
This off'ring makes—two goblets richly dight,
And horn of mountain bull with red gold bright,
From the first plunder chosen, when expir'd
The great-heart Getae 'neath his spear untir'd.
Cloud-wrapt! O grant for him with honour rife
That clos'd may be this Achaemenian strife.
So, both from Getae and Arsacidae,
Shall double spoils be set apart for thee."

Both the God's epithet and the peaceful sentiment of the poem are appropriate to the Imperial author. One is tempted to believe the second goblet a prepayment.[1]

There followed, in the autumn of the same year, a romantic tour in Arabia. The caravan route ran from Antioch over the desert to Palmyra, whence, it may be, Hadrian journeyed south-west to Damascus; then to the coast at Tyre, or Berytus, and so back to Antioch for the winter. Never were the records of his travels more barren of detail than concerning this Arabian tour. His time-table, his route in every particular, are undiscoverable save by guess or probability. Palmyra took the Emperor's name and was ornamented with buildings in his honour. Damascus received at his hands the title of Metropolis, a favourite distinction. So also did Petra, that remote and marvellous city in the far southern desert, and this gateway of the waste also took Hadrian's name. Did his journey extend so far? With niggardly simplicity the ancient biographer remarks "he traversed Arabia and came to Pelusium". The chronicler knows nothing of Arabia.[2] Not even a Doughty or a Hogarth could make anything of this travel-story.

§ 2. Through Judea to Egypt

In the year A.D. 130 Hadrian set out again from Antioch and journeyed by way of the coast and Judea to Egypt.

Either now, or in the preceding year on his return from Damascus to the sea, the forests of Lebanon quickened his business instincts. Better use must be made of the trees. Four species of tree (the forests were not of cedars only) he reserved for himself as State property. These would be useful for the Imperial navy

[1] Anthol. Pal. VI, 332. Macgregor's translation. At least the verses are ascribed to Hadrian, and we certainly cannot credit his predecessor with them.

[2] *Vita* 14, 4: "peragrata Arabia Pelusium venit"; Dio 69, 11, 1. *Palmyra*: Steph. Byz. sub voc.; C.I.G. 6015. Cf. Reid, "Municipalities," p. 348. *Damascus*: Eckhel III, 331. Doubtfully Hadrian; cf. Marquardt I, 273-274. *Tyre* "metropolis" under Hadrian, Suidas II, p. 147, but not on occasion of his visit; cf. Marquardt I, 273, note 18. *Gaza*: "era" begins A.D. 129-130, Eckhel III, 452. *Petra*: Eckhel III, 503 f. Mionnet V, 587-589.

Never was there less straw for brick-making.

in the Mediterranean. The rest were assigned in lots to private owners.[1] No afforestation scheme is mentioned. But the fleet was small, and laid no great claim to timber.

South of Gaza, in an unhappy moment for the Empire's now untroubled peace, Hadrian turned aside from the coast and went up inland to the city of Jerusalem. The place had not recovered from its sack by Titus, and lay still in wasted desolation. Yet Jews still clung to lairs and hovels amid the ruins. Hadrian was not the man to tolerate a stony wilderness where once had been a crowded city. The site was a good one, and immemorially capital of Judea. But there were lessons from the past. No longer, if now by Imperial command rebuilt, should the city be shrine of a local God, harbourage of a folly ever vainly cherishing idle dreams of a national rising against Rome. Now a new Roman Colony should occupy the site of Jerusalem, and by its name of Aelia Capitolina it should be dedicated to the Roman founder's memory and to the great Capitoline Deity of Rome.

It was a fatal resolve. Hadrian had to learn once more what was the frantic and stubborn fanaticism of the native Palestinian Jews, when he thus lightheartedly blew the ever-smouldering embers into a flame of wrath at so wanton a desecration of the hallowed site.[2]

Without any other delay the Emperor journeyed to Pelusium.[3]

At this frontier city of Egypt was the tomb of one of the last of Rome's Republican heroes of the Civil Wars, Pompey the Great, who had been slain here at bidding of a puppet sycophant princeling. The tomb was perishing of decay and neglect. Hadrian rebuilt it with new splendour, sighing over the transient nature of fame :

> "So many temples once he had who now must lack a tomb".[4]

At Alexandria he could enjoy once again the delights of learning. The city was the home of solid study, not of the gewgaws and fripperies of belles lettres. Hadrian summoned the professors of the Academy to meet him at the Museum. "To them he propounded many questions, and himself solved the problems which he had propounded."[5] Happy and obsequious were these University professors. But they were less at ease when Government interference went further. They found "sinecure chairs"

[1] M. Rostowzew, ap. "Klio," XI, pp. 387-388.

[2] See below, Chapter XIII, § 2.

[3] The "Adrianeum" at Tiberias hardly implies a visit to the Sea of Galilee. (Epiphanius, Adv. haer. 30, 12.)

[4] *Vita* 14, 4; Dio, 69, 11, 1; Anthol. Pal. IX, 402 : *τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου* = Vix is habet tumulum qui plurima templa habebat. (?) Hadrian's composition.

[5] *Vita* 20, 2.

bestowed on wandering sophists, who were " not required even to reside, much less to lecture, but only lent the glory of their names to the Museum in return for their salaries ". A neo-Hellenic revival stamped on Alexandrian coinage would hardly compensate the resident Greek professoriate for such an outrage. Yet even if men like Polemon of Laodicea and Dionysius of Miletus were given by Hadrian these rich supernumerary professorships, did it not all add to the fame of the University, this strengthening of the staff from outside, and redound to that intangible glory which should make good any possible deficiencies in true learning? It may be hoped that a block grant from the Treasury defrayed the cost of the stipends of the absentees. But even if the resources of the University itself were called on for these payments, there was no challenging the Emperor's appointments. To royal patronage all men are slaves—at a University.[1] Some satisfaction at least may be derived from the assurance that " notwithstanding these distinctions Dionysius remained a modest and unassuming person ".[2] The same is not said of Polemon.

From Alexandria Hadrian, accompanied by Sabina and her learned train, voyaged up the Nile as far as Egyptian Thebes. Here, on November 21, A.D. 130, they waited, with some impatience, to hear Memnon melodiously hymn the sunrise, while the poetess Balbilla scratched her doggerel elegiacs on the God's left foot.[3] But the story of the grand tour fastens upon one story only for perpetual remembrance, the death and consecration of Hadrian's favourite Antinous.[4]

§ 3. The Story of Antinous

The tale of Antinous and his death is a simple one, though the sequel to it is curious.[5]

Antinous was a Greek, born at the small city of Bithynion (or Claudiopolis) in Bithynia on November 27 some eighteen or

[1] J. G. Milne, " Egypt under Roman Rule," pp. 55-56 (dates wrong).

[2] Dict. Biog. sub voc.

[3] See above, p. 24. C.I.G. 4727, 4728 = Kaibel, Epig. Graec. 988.

[4] Hadrian allowed grandchildren (if *Greek* Alexandrines) to inherit a grandmother's (intestate) property. This right was not granted fully in Rome before Justinian. Mommsen writes on it at very great length (Ges. Schr. I, 456-464), but it seems a matter of very minute interest in itself. The privileged position of Greeks in Alexandria is familiar. Naturally the native population presently petitions for the same privilege.

[5] Ancient evidence: *Vita* 14, 5-7; Dio 69, 11; Amm. Marcell. XXII, 16, 2; Victor, " Caesares," 14, 7-9; Eusebius, Chron. and Jerome, ed. Schoene, II, pp. 166, 167; Pausanias VIII, 9 (and cf. Frazer ad loc.); Julian, Caesares, p. 311D; Hegesippus ap. Eusebius, Hist. eccl. IV, 8; Justin, Apol. 29, 4. Epigraphic evidence ap. P.-W. and Ruggiero, sub voc.

Antinous in Art: Ecstatically treated by Mrs. Strong, " Roman Sculpture," pp. 249-253, and P.-W. passim. Cf. P. Gardner ap. J.H.S. VII (1886), 99; Eckhel VI, 530 sq.; Cohen II, p. 276, for coinage.

twenty years before he accompanied Hadrian to Egypt in A.D. 130 as the Emperor's favourite page.[1] He was a youth of quite exceptional beauty, serious, graceful, with long curling hair and perfect features. On October 30, on the voyage upstream, he was drowned in the Nile.

Hadrian sorrowed sorely for the lad. "He wept for him like a woman." [2] Then he commanded the consecration of Antinous as a new God in the heavens.

"There was a star which he said he himself saw and knew to be that of Antinous. He hearkened gladly to his servants as they told him that the star was in very truth begotten of the soul of Antinous, and then for the first time appeared to men.

"On this account folk made mock of him." [3]

While the boy's soul dwelt in its abode celestial, on earth the Emperor founded a city in Egypt, and called it after his name Antinoopolis or Antinoe.[4] This lay on the Nile's eastern bank, opposite Hermopolis, half-way between Memphis and Thebes, and doubtless marked the place of the lad's drowning. The new city was essentially Greek in style of building and in scheme of government. To ensure its prosperity, Hadrian attempted to divert part at least of the Indian trade with the Nile by way of the Red Sea by building a new road "through safe and level country" across the desert from Antinoe to the Red Sea harbour Berenice. But the city lay too remote from the Greco-Roman world for the setting up in it of the cult of the new-made God. His birthplace city Bithynion claimed to have been founded by settlers from Mantinea. At this ancient Arcadian town therefore Hadrian established his "oracle of Antinous" with yearly mysteries, and, every fourth year, a great commemorative festival. Painted likenesses of the boy were also preserved at Mantinea.[5]

The cult spread fast. "Antinous-Games" were instituted at Athens, at Eleusis, at Argos, which were still celebrated when two hundred years were past.[6] In every part of the Greek world, "I might almost say throughout the whole world," [7] statues and busts of the lad were dedicated to his memory, as besides in Rome herself. Not a few survive to this day, and may be seen in the Vatican, the Lateran, the Louvre, at Florence, London, and Berlin. So wonderful a human beauty, the romance of his

[1] Δοῦλος only in the valueless Hegesippus. We can only judge his age from the statues and busts.

[2] *Vita* 14, 5. [3] Dio 69, 11.

[4] In Heptanomis, later in Thebais. It measured 1½ by 1 mile. Cf. Reid, "Municipalities," p. 333; P.-W., etc. Considerable ruins remain. For the Red Sea road, the evidence is an inscription found at the city, dated Feb. 25, A.D. 137. Cf. Dürr, No. 143; Diz. Epig. p. 608; Milne, "Roman Egypt," p. 59.

[5] Pausanias VIII, 9, 7-8.

[6] C.I.G. 1124; C.I.A. III, 1202. Cf. Frazer ad Pausanias VIII, 9, 7-8.

[7] Dio.

pathetic death and the Emperor's bitter grief for him, these wrought in such wise upon the artists and the sculptors of the day that Roman Art attained its highest achievements in the portrayal of this youth. Sometimes he is but the human type, idealised perhaps, but the lad whom Hadrian mourned. More often he is set forth with the divine attributes, now of a Dionysus, now of Hermes, Apollo, Osiris, Ganymede, or other deities. Modern writers, both English and German, wax passionate in their outpourings of admiration for the "Antinous-Type". An entire chapter of this book could be filled with their ecstasies.[1] The Latin West was less excited about the new God. In Italy there was a temple in his honour at Lanuvium, but he shared it frugally with Diana.[2] At Tivoli a plaintive, if puzzling, mourner cries, "Belenus was as young and as beauteous as ever was Antinous. Why should he not be Antinous too?" If Belenus was the Celtic God of that name, the Greek might be restive under such an identification.[3]

Literature made haste to follow in the steps of Art. "Numenios the orator" wrote a "Consolation" to cheer the Emperor.[4] The poets Pancrates[5] and Mesomedes, a Cretan lyricist in whom Hadrian delighted,[6] hymned the praises of Antinous. This availed the Cretan but little with Hadrian's successor Pius, who deprived the poet (as he did others) of part of his stipend, saying cruelly "it was a wicked thing for a man to nibble away the State who conferred no benefit upon it by his labours".[7] So may a Poet Laureate of one reign fare badly in the next.

[1] E.g.: "In Antinous all the cults of declining Paganism seem to meet. . . . The whole of the Latter-day Olympus re-awakens in him to a new life. . . . Satiety and sensuous melancholy are the dominating traits. . . . Pain and enjoyment of life, darkness and light, death and youth, mingle in these features. . . . Melancholy made her entry into antique Art" (Dietrichson). "A certain austere delicacy about the ear. . . . The glory and crown of sculpture in this age as well as in all others are two images of Antinous" (Winckelmann), etc., etc. I quote from Mrs. Strong's "Roman Art," who notes that other moderns are less enthusiastic.

[2] C.I.L. XIV, 2112, A.D. 136. The temple was founded A.D. 133.

[3] C.I.L. XIV, 3555.

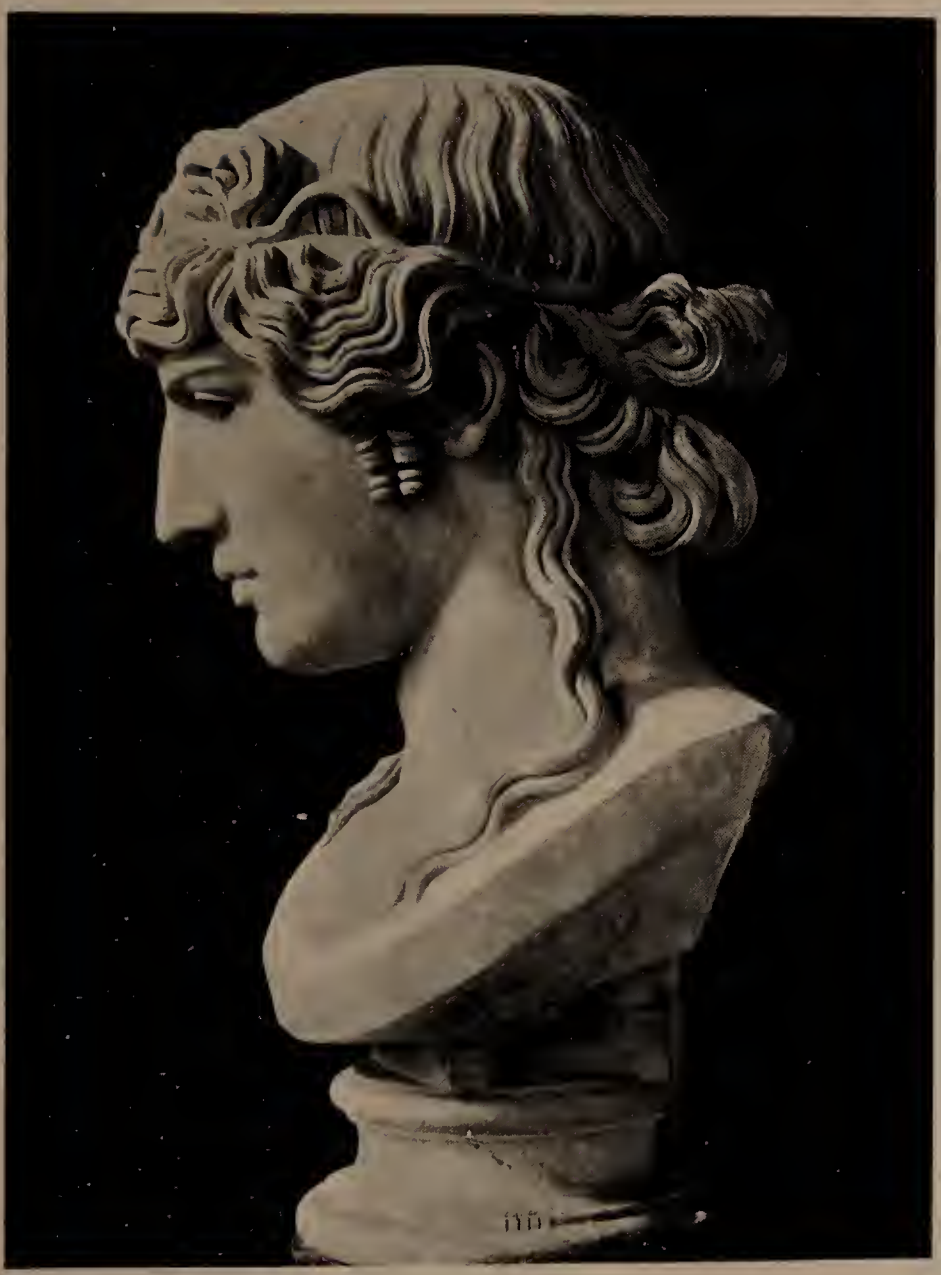
[4] Suidas, sub voc.

[5] Athenaeus XV, 677o. Cf. above, p. 18.

[6] Suidas, sub voc.

[7] *Vita Pii* 7, 7. Caracalla built him a cenotaph in honour of his harp-playing (Dio 77, 13). His poem on Antinous is lost, but one or two of his short effusions survive. I translate one as a specimen (Anth. Pal. XVI, 323):

"The workman fashioned the stone,
And cast it into the fire—
Strong as unbreakable iron
The stone, for all to admire.
The flames devour'd the stone:
As wax it melted away,
A marvel for mortals to see
Was the stone, of fire the prey;
A marvel the craftsman's fear
As the molten mass flowed on,
Fear lest it 'scape from its course,
And his labour be all undone."



ANTINOUS

A BUST IN THE LOUVRE

(from the Villa Mondragone, Frascati)

Writers and versifiers could not be content to leave the story of Antinous' death in the simple form of the Emperor's own telling of it. It became speedily embroidered with that element of magic which the credulous love. The legend grew and took shape. Hadrian's own life was doomed unless one could be found, said the Magians, to offer himself in the Emperor's stead. Antinous alone of all was found ready gladly to give his life for his master. Or was the boy sacrificed against his will? Soon scandal took a hand in the engrossing game of blackening the memory alike of King and Page. When Hadrian himself was dead, both malignancy and ridicule were safe. Marcus Aurelius disdained to make mention of Antinous in his list of Hadrian's friends. "As a Stoic," suggests the scandalized modern, "he despised the farce of Antinous." The cheap wit of a later Emperor, Julian, made merry with the story. He depicts the arrival of Hadrian in heaven, looking for Antinous. As the Prince gazes forlornly round him, old drunken Silenus roars out. "What is the sophist doing?" he bellows. "Is he looking for Antinous? Some one go and tell him it isn't here he will find the lad, and put a stop to his silly folly!"

But above all it was the Christian "apologist" to whom the deification of Antinous came as a God-send, a weapon to be used that need never be blunted in the wielding of it. "All men rushed for very fear to honour him as a God, knowing who he was and whence he came," writes Justin scornfully.[1] "A —— made God," cries the violent Tertullian. "What Ganymede more beautiful, more cherished by his lover?"[2] "Let us leave the matter open," the more charitable Aurelius Victor wrote, "and yet——."[3] For all we know, it was a pure enough friendship between Hadrian, who had no son, and Antinous. But "the Fathers" fastened like harpies on the story. How else could the faithful be duly edified? The deification of the dead lad gave them a rare opportunity. And be it remembered that the "apologists" were still a small minority, battling with the pen for a struggling faith in midst of a pagan world. We cannot censure them with other than the censure to which all theological controversialists seem subject, that such but rarely display the spirit of their Master.

This is the story of Antinous. It was but a brief episode in the life of Hadrian, and, historically, one of no importance to the Roman Empire. Yet man's life is made up of episodes.

The Emperor took the boy's death at the moment hardly; so hardly that fools said he was cause of it. But the grief passed

[1] Justin, Apol. 29, 4. Cf. A. W. F. Blunt, ad loc.
[2] Ad Nat. II, 10.
[3] Caesares XIV, 9.

away. He was too old to be long moved by it. They would meet again? Should such be the will of the Gods—if there were Gods. He would affront the mystery and declare his power to create a God. At least he would keep the lad's memory alive.

So he issued his orders. And then the voyagers continued their journey up the great sombre river, Sabina busy with her chattering women, Hadrian in silence.

§ 4. The Return to Rome

In May of the year A.D. 134 Hadrian was certainly in Rome.[1] He had probably returned there direct from Alexandria in A.D. 131,[2] and thereafter had left the capital only for a few months when called once more to the East by the news of the Jewish outbreak.[3] That he also in this interval paid yet a third visit to Athens or indulged in an extensive tour embracing the Balkan peninsula, Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia, even Dacia, is a theory based on the most flimsy evidence.[4]

With the exception of the short time of absence spent on the Jewish war Hadrian's travels were, by A.D. 131, at last ended. He had then spent a bare quarter of the fourteen years of his reign in Rome. Now old age was creeping on. He was fifty-five on January 24, A.D. 131, and the years had been full of toil, even if travel were pleasurable toil. Problems also awaited him, of administration, of army reform, of law reform, of provincial government, of frontier defence, all of which had doubtless claimed his earlier attention, yet to which the finishing touches could now be given. At last also the well-nigh insatiable curiosity of the traveller must yield to the longing for rest and comfort. And always there remained Rome, the most wonderful city in all the ancient world. Here in Rome, and in his Villa of Delight, the Palace of Pleasure which he built for himself upon the Sabine foothills hard by, there was scope enough even for Hadrian's inventive genius to last him to the end.

[1] C.I.G. 5906 = a fragment of a letter from Rome dated May 5; Trib. pot. XVIII = A.D. 134.

[2] Dio rather doubtfully implies a return through Syria again (Dio 69, 12, 2).

[3] See below, Chapter XIII, § 2.

[4] The Athens visit is hardly proved by a multiplicity of statues to him in the Olympieion in A.D. 132, or by the order of Dio's excerpts 69, 16, 1-2.

The coins of "adventus," "exercitus," etc., for the Balkan peninsula can be dated any time. See Appendix C. An aqueduct at Sarmizegetusa (C.I.L. III, 1476) and at Odessus (= Varna, C.I.L. III, 762) are no evidence, unless an Emperor's presence is necessary before a town may enjoy an improved water-supply. Then again, he is sent off, now to Cyrenaica and Libya "to hunt" by P.-W. on strength of a coin (Cohen 1278—"restitutori Libyae"), of a hunting tale (Athenaeus XV, 677*e*—"near Alexandria") and Orosius! It is time to call a halt to the invention of travel-tours for the Emperor in spite of Dürr, P.-W., etc. Is he never to be allowed to live quietly in Rome?

CHAPTER IX

FOREIGN POLICY AND FRONTIERS (1)

§ 1. The Peace Policy and its consequences.
§ 2. Frontier fortifications.
§ 3. Defensive works in the Danube provinces.
§ 4. The works on the German-Raetian frontier.

CHAPTER IX

§ 1. The Peace Policy and its Consequences

HADRIAN'S foreign policy was from first to last straightforward and inspired by a single motive, the desire for peace.

He renounced all ideas of wars of aggression and conquest. He lived on terms of amity with his neighbours, cultivating the friendship alike of the Parthian " King of Kings " and of the small petty princes beyond the Roman frontiers. These sent gifts to him, and he replied in kind. He boasted once that in this way he had gained more wealth for Rome by inactivity than all other Princes had by war.[1]

The initial troubles of his reign were legacies from the risings which took place in the last year of Trajan's principate. They were soon ended. When the Brigantes in Britain, the Sarmatians beyond the Danube, the Jews in Egypt, Cyprus, Mauretania, all had quieted down—results speedily if forcibly achieved—no serious war disturbed Rome's peace until Hadrian's reign drew near its close. Then the Jewish rebellion may lay some claim to this title. The Palestinian Jews, however, throughout all the early Empire may be with reason regarded as are the Moplahs in south India to-day, stubborn religious fanatics, always liable to recurrent outbreaks of savagery, incapable of conciliation, but never a real peril to the Empire's strength. Like the Moplah, the Jew had neither fear of death nor any instinct of mercy when it came to fighting. There seemed but the one remedy, to kill as many as refused submission, until the survivors settled sullenly down again for another spell of quiescence.

Such necessary punitive measures, however unwelcome to the Government, implied no real departure from its long-tried and well-considered peace-policy.

Again, when the wild tribes of the Caucasus (whether Alans to the north, or Albanians to the south of the mountains were the culprits is uncertain) made an inroad into Cappadocia, they compelled the Roman governor Arrian to muster his legions and repel their onset. This was as defensive a measure as ever any

[1] Epit. § 10.

operations of a column on India's north-west frontier against Mahsuds or Afridis. Arrian drove the hillmen off, and has left an account, not, unfortunately, of the campaign itself, but of his preliminary dispositions for such.[1]

With these two exceptions, Hadrian sanctioned no kind of war. From this peace policy two consequences followed of necessity. The first was his immediate abandonment of all Trajan's conquests in the farther East; the second, his unremitting care for the defence of his own frontiers.

Hadrian did not hesitate for a moment to sacrifice the new-won provinces in the East.[2] It may be remembered that few living Romans knew the lands of personal knowledge better than did the Emperor who decided on this policy. He withdrew his troops to the old familiar frontier line of Syrian desert and upper Euphrates. Armenia received a king once more in place of a Roman governor.[3] Mesopotamia, Parthia, Assyria, were all given back to Chosroes, King of Parthia. To Parthamaspates, whom Trajan had placed upon the throne of Ctesiphon, Hadrian gave as consolatory douceur some minor principality upon the remote confines of the Empire, perhaps Osroene.[4] The presence here of his ungrateful and rebellious son does not seem to have vexed the Parthian monarch, neither may it have been of long duration. Peace between the two great Empires was now maintained until the days of Marcus Aurelius.[5]

Hadrian's motives for his renunciation of the lands can no more be called in question than can the practical wisdom of the policy. To depict him as swayed by envy of Trajan's glory is pure folly, and worthy of the writers of old who adopted this

[1] Dio 69, 15, 1, 2. But § 2 almost certainly belongs to the reign of Pius, though ascribed to Hadrian in the excerpta Ursiniana. Cf. Boissevain ad loc. and Mommsen, R.G.V. 404, 4.

Schiller p. 615, and Marquardt think Dio's "Alans who are Massagetae" should be Albanians. The same doubt clings round Arrian's Ἔκταξις κατ' Ἀλανῶν (? Ἀλβανῶν)—(a good account of this in Pelham's "Arrian as Legate of Cappadocia") ("Essays," p. 212). Hardy keeps Alans ("Studies," p. 228). Arrian's two legions were XII Fulminata and XV Apollinaris.

[2] Cf. Fronto, p. 206, ed. Naber: short and sensible. "Provincias manu Traiani captas omittere maluit quam exercitu retinere." Cf. *Vita* 5, 1-4 (where "Partamosirin" is a sheer blunder for "Parthamaspaten"), and 21, 8-14. Schiller pp. 605-606, and Bury p. 493, write at unnecessary length, the latter discursively.

[3] Perhaps the "Vologeses" who in Dio 69, 15, 1, buys off the Alans (? Albanians). So Boissevain ap. "Hermes" XXV (1890), p. 336. Son of the Sanatruces killed by Trajan in A.D. 116 (ib.). *Not* the great king (ib.). So also Mommsen (R.G.V. 403, 1). Yet Bury: "Armenia was saved by the Parthian King"! (p. 505).

[4] So P.-W. after Gutschmid. That he was Chosroes' son depends on a very elaborate argument, which belongs properly to a life of Trajan, not of Hadrian. I must omit it here. The names of these Oriental potentates and their relationships constitute a problem which, thanks to our miserable evidence, is in a state of wild confusion.

[5] Cf. *Vita Pii* 9, 6-10; Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 206; *Vita Marci* 8, 6; Dio 71, 2. Hadrian gave Galatia a legate of its own (C.I.L. III, 309).

view.[1] But, as a modern writer justly says, "it was very wise to abandon what could not be kept".[2] Hadrian himself quoted precedent in defence of his action. It was, he said, exactly in the same way that Cato had declared the Macedonians free because it was impossible to keep a watch over them.[3] This same love of Republican precedents, which is curiously interesting in Emperors, moved Antoninus Pius some years later to declare, and that frequently, that like Scipio he would rather save the life of one single citizen than kill a thousand enemies.[4] This general justification of a peace policy is more sentimental and not so frank as Hadrian's apology. Both however are clearly genuine expressions of feeling.

It has been argued that an attempt to keep possession of the lands lying between the Euphrates and the head of the Persian gulf might have succeeded in view of the increasing decrepitude of the Parthian Empire which soon became more and more obvious.[5] No one however seeks to deny that, even were this in some measure true, such an effort must have at once required an increase in the strength of Rome's "standing-army" in the East on a very considerable scale, and that this increase would have imposed new and possibly intolerable financial burdens upon the Empire. There was no kind of probability that even Mesopotamia and the revenues thence derivable would have paid the expenses of the army of occupation, let alone Armenia, "Parthia," "Assyria," "Trans-Tigris," and the rest. The Roman Emperor in such a plight could plead neither mandate nor any distant will-o'-the-wisp project of oil as excuse good enough to delude the incensed and wholly incredulous taxpayer. But any serious attempt to extract the costs of the annexations from the population so annexed could but have fanned still more speedily into flame the hostility which must always have been latent among the subjugated inhabitants of lands alien in every possible way from Rome and Rome's ideals.

There is yet one other suggestion which has been made, that Hadrian was too hasty and impetuous in sacrificing the whole, of which he might have retained at least a part. The German writer would have had him keep Armenia. The English professor promptly repeated the idea.[6] It was not worth the repetition. The retention of Armenia alone would have given to Rome in the East a "re-entering frontier" of a character strategically, under

[1] Eutropius VIII, 6, 2; St. Jerome ap. Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene II, 165; Suidas, s.v. Δομετιανός.

[2] Vaglieri p. 602. Schiller's remark, "The conqueror here (i.e. in Mesopotamia) stood upon a volcano," is perhaps not a very happy way of expressing the same view.

[3] *Vita* 5, 4.

[4] *Vita Pii* 9, 10.

[5] Schiller p. 606.

[6] Ib.; Bury p. 493.

all the circumstances, impossible.[1] Armenia also was a land as costly as it was worthless to hold. For once the War Office and the Treasury points of view would have coincided. Nor would the Foreign Office have failed to agree with its brother Departments of State. Armenia in Roman hands must be a permanent provocation of Parthia. The Caucasian tribes moreover were always joyfully raiding into it. But while an Iberian Shamil indulging his tribesmen in forays over the Araxes could be blandly disregarded by a Roman governor of Cappadocia (until he came too near), the Majesty of Rome could not lightly suffer such impudent outrage if Rome were administering directly the vast district east of the Cappadocian border. How many " punitive expeditions " against the elusive brigand would have been necessary? Who would pay for them? The Imperial Government of Rome, unlike Tsarist Russia, had no interest in the minerals of the Caucasus or in the oil of Baku. The pretext of the sufferings of co-religionists was not in being to call for appropriation or at least to palliate it. And actual Armenia herself is one of the most mountainous, most inaccessible, most poverty-stricken countries of the world. It promised to Rome neither revenue nor (had Romans been Turks) plunder. Long since, the statesmen of the early Empire had realized this. Corbulo had marched through the length and the breadth of the land. His Master, Nero, speedily abandoned it when he saw that Parthia still was strong enough to press her claims to suzerainty over it. If indeed Parthia herself was to be " captured," Armenia must be held in some sort of way as well. Else there would be no security for the peace of Mesopotamian lowlands. But if Parthia was to remain, as Hadrian saw, still the most powerful of all the independent monarchies of whom Rome knew anything, then Armenia must be let alone.

This was the judgment of the Roman who knew the lands, a man of great and tried experience, on whom rested the sole onus of decision. Is it not likely to have been sounder than is that of a professor, German though he be, or English?

The second necessary consequence of Hadrian's peace policy was the organization of frontier defence. Already it has been seen that this was one great inspiring motive of his travels. His long list of army reforms[2] is also prompted by its needs. The actual military fortifications designed to protect the frontier lines—the " limites "—themselves were the crowning work of a foreign policy as wise as it was pre-eminently successful in securing the peace of the civilized world.

[1] I have seen no reason in the last fourteen years to change this opinion or any part of the argument in explanation and defence of it which I first advanced in my " Nero," pp. 158-161.

[2] See below, Chapter XI, § 1.

And yet it is in one Roman province only, our own island of Britain, that the actual line of frontier fortification can with any great confidence be definitely ascribed to Hadrian. The crown elsewhere, on Rhine and Danube, he must share with other Imperial claimants, his predecessors and successors, if indeed he has any great title to it at all.

§ 2. Frontier Fortifications

There are two sentences in the ancient biographer's account of Hadrian's work, two brief sentences, upon which as foundation imposing superstructures have been reared.

The first is of a vague and general application:

"At that time [when Hadrian was in Spain] and often at other times in very many places in which the barbarians are separated off [from the Empire] not by rivers but by boundary lines ("limites"), he kept the barbarians off by means of great stakes planted deep and fastened together after the fashion of a hedge which serves as a wall." [1]

"This passage," a German remarks gloomily, "has led enquirers who have failed to notice the inferiority of its source to form the most highly venturesome hypotheses." [2]

The second sentence has direct reference to Britain:

"He [Hadrian] makes for Britain, where he corrected many things, and was the first to build a wall for a length of eighty miles, which wall was intended to divide the barbarians from the Romans." [3]

This passage, like the wall, is at least of solid merit.

Long lines of frontier fortification and demarcation, remains of which may be seen to-day, either defiant of time's ravages or brought once more to light by patient unwearied excavation, have been brought into connection with these two sentences. So that at the last the invitation comes to us to contemplate an Empire with a continuous rampart of defence where sea or river or desert fail, linking sea to sea, river to river, the work of Hadrian, who marks an epoch in the history of the Roman frontiers. The word "unique" has been worked to death on Hadrian's behalf. Yet may it not be applied at least to this, his barrier-system of Imperial defence?

"With the reign of Hadrian we come to a turning-point in the history of the frontiers. Not only is the period of expansion

[1] *Vita* 12, 6: "Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit".

[2] Kornemann ap. "Klio," VII, p. 89.

[3] *Vita* 11, 2: "Brittaniam petit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret".

abruptly closed, but a systematic attempt is made to fence the Empire about with permanent barriers, where such were not furnished by the hand of nature." [1]

No doubt the Flavian Emperors, and Trajan too perhaps, had caught sight of the bend in the road already, and had set up a finger-post or two, marked "To security". Hadrian followed along the road, reached the bend, turned precedents into a system, planted his "great stakes" continuously, and so first fenced the weak places of the Empire with—a wooden palisade. Only in our own savage island wood was not strong enough, or, perchance, there was none on the Border.

Nature however had not been niggardly in defence of Rome. On the long desert frontiers of Africa and Syria; in the hill-country from the Black Sea's innermost recesses to the Murad Su; where the flood of Ocean, or the streams of the great rivers, Rhine, Danube, Theiss, Aluta, Euphrates, marked the boundaries of Rome; where the huge promontory of new-won Dacia thrust itself into the fretting tide of savagery in Central Europe; on, that is, the entire circuit of the Empire save for some few hundred miles from Rhine to Danube and in the north of Britain;—no such artificial barrier-system was needed or provided. There is some risk of exaggeration perhaps when we come to talk of turning-points, not in the misrepresentation of fact but in the impression, as it were of giant's work, produced, and of Hadrian's devisings.

Neither did later Emperors rest content with the "Thus far and no farther" policy. There were those who turned again. Dick Whittington turned his back on hopes of advance one summer morning in Cheapside. He turned back again on top of Highgate Hill. May the English boy stand there for a moment to serve as emblem of the fluctuating policy of Rome, and of other, as great, Empires besides?

Neither were Hadrian's great stakes the earliest or the only, as they were not the latest, form of artificial barrier or defence which the Romans used upon these gaps and chinks in Nature's armour. Even the biographer's wall to safeguard Britain was not a wooden wall.

"The Romans," says Polybius, the sage historian of distant Republican days, "are apt at imitation," and he quotes a piece of military equipment as an instance. Under the Principate, when face to face with the barbarians, it was their inventive genius which developed. They tried one system of frontier defence. Presently they changed it for another. Then they employed a third. They experimented or were satisfied with

[1] Stuart Jones, "Companion to Roman History," p. 248. But on this whole subject both this writer and Pelham's two papers, "Essays in Roman History," pp. 164-211, are of the greatest value.

different plans in different places, as experience or materials suggested. They dug ditches. They heaped up walls of earth. They planted (in woodland country this) wooden palisades. They built ramparts of sods of earth. They constructed walls of stone. They excavated trenches. Had it been available, they would have lined these with corrugated iron and dug out baby elephants. Here they stayed content with block houses at short intervals. There they built stone forts, on the frontier line, behind the frontier line, near or far. They thrust garrisons forward beyond the frontier line. They ran one line of defence behind another. They superimposed a new on top of an old. They distinguished between a civil frontier and its military protection. They made the two identical. They rested satisfied with a single line. They had no artificial line at all. In a word, adaptive rather than imitative, they were always taking cognisance of the requirements of time and place.

It is the continuity perhaps which is set down to Hadrian's exclusive merit. Yet great stakes, however interlaced and continuous, could never have held out against more than a sudden barbarian rush. The palisade at Senlac could not even save the fortunes of a single fight. In very fact it was not through artificial barriers, whether of wood or earth or stone, that the tide of barbarism presently broke to submerge the Empire, if not its civilization. Saxons came by sea to Britain. Goths, Vandals, Huns, crossed the river defences. Writers in later days who saw such perils threatening could conceive no use for barriers at all save " to keep the barbarians out ". Hadrian's Wall in Britain did, both in purpose and result, serve this end, if not this end alone. But Hadrian's continuous palisade, was it ever meant to be more than a customs-line, for " Dazio Consumo " purposes ? And for the forts and stouter structures in Central Europe, over which the zeal of the archæologist spends and has spent such endless time, there is neither incident, nor clear date, nor certain name of any builder to be attached to any such. The historian of one special Emperor retires discomfited before the antiquarian's enthusiasm.

§ 3. Defensive Works in the Danube Provinces

Dacia under Hadrian consisted of two administrative divisions, each under a legate of its own.[1] But no precise statement can be made regarding the extent or complete boundary circuit of either " Lower " or " Upper " Dacia. The river Theiss clearly formed the western, the river Aluta part of the eastern, frontier of the former province. There are traces of artificial defences, most imperfectly explored, in various parts, as from the Danube

[1] C.I.L. III, 1562 ; 753 ; 2830 ; and p. 876. Cf. Diz. Epig. sub voc.

near Acumincum to the Theiss, from the Pruth to the Dniester, on the north-west from Tiho to Kis-Sebes, and possibly east of the Aluta river.[1] To ascribe any of these to Hadrian, to attribute some of these to the Romans at all, has no warrant.

The name Aelia borne by some well-known garrison towns and other cities in the older Danube provinces has been held to imply a grant by Hadrian to them of a municipal organization.[2] Such were Carnuntum, Aquincum, Viminacium, Ovilava (Wels near Passau), Mursa on the Drave, Brigetio (O-Szöny), Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), and Nicopolis (Nikup, between the Balkans and the Danube). Such a grant implied the duty of the Municipality to raise a local force for defence in cases of emergency. Near Nicopolis the governor of Lower Moesia in A.D. 136, Antius Rufinus, was busily engaged in marking out the local boundary line between his province and Thrace.[3]

Still farther to the east, a chain of Roman posts secured the west and north-west shores of the Black Sea, from Odessus (Varna) and Tomi (Köstendje) in Lower Moesia south of the Danube delta to Tyras at the mouth of the Dniester, Olbia at that of the Dnieper, and Panticapaeum (Kertsch), which was chief city of the native vassal principality of Bosporus in the Crimea. The Black Sea was by now a thoroughly Roman Sea.[4]

The district known as the Dobrudja, lying just south of the Danube delta, well known to us nowadays as a bone of contention between rival Balkan States (Roumania has now again successfully seized the bone), contains the remains of a very ancient line of artificial barrier which is the joy and the perplexity of Roman antiquaries. This line runs from Tomi on the Black Sea west to the Danube at a point south of Crnavoda, just where the river turns due north again. It is some 45 miles in length and consisted of two earthworks, a stronger one to the north which was dotted with earthern forts at intervals of a mile, and a smaller to the south, which had a ditch on its southern side. There are also remains of a stone wall, which, since it crosses and recrosses the northern earthwork, must be later in time than this. The stone wall had a deep ditch outside its northern face, a shallow one on its southern.

Of these fortifications the northern earthwork has been ascribed to Hadrian as being part of his defensive measures against the Roxolani who gave him trouble at the beginning of his reign.[5]

[1] Stuart Jones. The forts of the first "Limes" on the Aluta are dated A.D. 138-140 by Tocilesco.

[2] Schiller p. 611, copied by Bury p. 500. For references, see Appendix C.

[3] C.I.L. III, 749, and Add. p. 992.

[4] C.I.L. III, 783. Cf. Arrian's Periplus Ponti Euxini. Perhaps an idea of Nero's. Cf. my "Nero," pp. 224-227.

[5] Stuart Jones, "Companion," p. 249; Kornemann ap. "Klio," VII (1907), pp. 88-109. Cf. above, p. 45.

There is no real evidence of any kind for this theory, and it has to face one peculiar difficulty of its own. At Troesmis (Iglitza), which lies on the right bank of the Danube sixty miles to the north of these earthworks, there were troops, veterans of the Fifth (Macedonica) Legion, in the reign of Hadrian. It is argued that the solitary inscription which proves their presence here [1] does not of necessity imply that here also were the permanent headquarters of the legion itself (in which case it was unlikely that a frontier-barrier line would be built far to the rear of the legion). The " veterans " were not on active service and may have been thrust forward as an outpost far in advance of the new barrier.[2] This special pleading is still less attractive since together with the veterans there were Roman citizens at Troesmis, all " ad canabas legionis," i.e. at its " hutments ". Seeing also that the whole of the Dobrudja is securely in Roman possession under Antoninus Pius, why should Hadrian have traced a frontier barricade so far to the south of the river ? It is not likely that any part of this defence line in the Dobrudja is Hadrian's work.

There is one curious and well-known story still to be cited in connection with the measures taken by Hadrian for the defence of the Danube frontier. Trajan, in the course of the campaigns which resulted in the conquest and the annexation of Dacia, had built a famous stone bridge over the river at Turnu Severin. Now, according to the ancient chronicler, Hadrian comes on the scene with fell intent to pluck down the bridge.

" Fearing lest the barbarians should have the mastery over its guards and thus have easy access into Moesia, Hadrian destroyed the upper part of the bridge." [3]

If in the earliest days of his reign the new Emperor really contemplated the evacuation of Dacia as well as of the eastern provinces,[4] the demolition of the bridge may well have formed part of the plan. It is just conceivable that the work was even begun, albeit, if begun, surely the bridge must have been restored when it was decided to retain the northern province. Possibly then " a drawbridge " was thrown across a gap too rashly made. But that a drawbridge was substituted for the stone structure because Hadrian found that traffic between the two river banks

[1] C.I.L. III, 6166 = Dessau 2474. Found at Iglitza in 1865. It runs (I give it with its twenty-nine abbreviations written out in full) : " Caius Valerius Pudens veteranus Legionis V Macedonicae et Marcus Ulpius Leontius magister canabensium et Tuccius Aelius aedilis dono dederunt veteranis et civibus Romanis consistentibus ad canabas legionis v Macedonicae ". Here is a Roman town in the early stage of its development.

[2] So Kornemann. Of course there are cases such as High Rochester north of the British Wall ; and veterans may have volunteered for a risky job to get plots of land. But the " canabae legionis " seem to me strong evidence to the contrary. Cf. R. C. Shaw—Appendix to Simpson and Shaw's pamphlet on the British " Vallum," pp. 431-432 (Note A below).

[3] Dio 68, 13.

[4] See above, p. 57.

was being carried on chiefly by boats [1] is as " incomprehensible " [2] a statement as ever the chronicler's own. This late story of havock wrought upon the works of the bridge has been rightly received with some scepticism.[3]

§ 4. The Works on the German-Raetian Frontier

The Roman Imperial Government exercised control over a considerable strip of country lying east of the Rhine and beyond, i.e. to the north of, the upper Danube, though the successors of Augustus never resumed that Emperor's abandoned plan of advancing the actual frontiers of the Empire to the Elbe. In its later and farthest extension that frontier beyond the two rivers ran from the junction of the Vinxtbach with the Rhine, a little south of Remagen, to that of the Altmühl with the Danube at Eining, a few miles to the west of Ratisbon (Regensburg). The land thus annexed beyond the rivers fell roughly into two sections. The southern, in the angle of Rhine and Danube, known as the Tithe Lands (Agri Decumates), was added to the Empire by Vespasian in A.D. 73-74. North of this the " Taunus " district and the valley of the lower Main were annexed by Domitian ten years later. The actual frontier " Limes " similarly consisted of two sections. The " German " Limes ran roughly parallel to the Rhine from its beginning at the Vinxtbach to the crest of the Taunus ridge, where it turned north-east for some 50 miles ; then south to the Main, and followed the course of this river up stream to Miltenberg. Here at the great bend of the stream it left this natural frontier and pursued a southerly course to Lorch. The whole length of this " German Limes " was some 200 miles. At Lorch the second, the " Raetian " Limes, began, and ran eastwards through Würtemberg and Bavaria to Eining for another 100 miles.

With the exception of the part of the Northern Limes where the river Main marked the boundary, the whole of this frontier required demarcation and some kind of artificial defence. There remain traces of more systems of defence than one, according as later Emperors found it advisable to alter their predecessors' methods. Thus Domitian's original line of defence consisted of a series of small earthern forts interspersed with wooden watch-towers, and at some distance in the rear of this line a number of stronger stone forts to hold a cohort apiece. Presently these base forts were abandoned, and stronger forts were erected on the actual front line, while, in the time of the decadence of the Western Empire a continuous earthern bank and ditch marked the entire line of the frontier. Intermediate between the two systems comes the " palisade," remains of which have been discovered at intervals

[1] Bury p. 500. [2] Schiller pp. 606-607. [3] Ib.

from the Raetian Limes (itself due perhaps to Trajan) to the Rhine. This continuous palisade consisted of split oak-trunks nine feet high embedded in a ditch four and a half feet deep and fastened together on the inside by cross planking. It corresponds so closely to the description given by the ancient biographer of Hadrian's frontier-works that there has never been any reluctance to ascribe this palisade to that Emperor. Although other modifications of the military defences along the Germano-Raetian frontier have been at times supposed also to be his work, there is no certain evidence to warrant such suggestions. Neither the stone forts and earthern ramparts of the Trans-Rhenane Limes, nor the stone walls of the Raetian, can definitely be said to be of Hadrian's design or work. Pius, Severus, Caracalla, all may have modified the system of defence. It remains impossible to "describe in detail the accomplishment of the task or to assign to each Emperor his proper share of the work".[1]

If, as seems well nigh certain, the wooden palisade is Hadrian's contribution to the demarcation of the northern frontier of the Empire, it is clear that its military value was small. For actual defence the auxiliary troops in the forts either on or some miles in the rear of it formed the first line of protection, and the legions in their permanent camps on the upper Rhine and upper Danube (whence they were at no time moved forwards to occupy the actual line of the "Limes") were to be the last impregnable barrier. The actual palisade was rather intended to serve as a line of division between Roman and barbarian. Possibly it was of use to control and direct to its openings the traffic from one side of the frontier to the other, or even to serve the purpose of a Customs-line, a Zollgremze, for the advantage of Roman revenue. It has thus been compared to the once famous "Customs Hedge" in India which ran a century ago from the Indus to the Madras border, a distance of 2500 miles. Whether or no Hadrian's palisade served some such similar purpose there is no precise evidence to determine. One inference from its nature, however, may justifiably be drawn, that the Emperor anticipated no serious threat to his frontiers in this "Corner" or Sinus Imperii between Rhine and Danube. And his confidence was warranted. Throughout his reign there was found no need for any stronger artificial defence system. The restored discipline of the "German Army" kept the peace unbroken. "Sparta's barricades are not walls but men."[2]

[1] Pelham p. 167.

[2] See especially for this whole "Limes" Pelham's paper on "The Roman Frontier in Southern Germany," with its map—republished in his "Essays on Roman History," pp. 179-211. Cf. also Stuart Jones, "The Roman Empire," p. 248; Bury pp. 404-405 and 500-501; Kornemann ap. "Klio," VII, pp. 88-109; R. C. Shaw, *op. cit.* pp. 429-431.

CHAPTER X

FOREIGN POLICY AND FRONTIERS. (2) THE "NORTHERN FRONTIER" IN BRITAIN

§ 1. The problems of "Hadrian's Wall".
§ 2. The works of "The Wall".
§ 3. The builder of "The Wall".
§ 4. The meaning of "The Wall".
Note A. Modern Bibliography.
Note B. The present position [by R. G. Collingwood, M.A.].

CHAPTER X

§ 1. The Problems of "Hadrian's Wall" [1]

In the first two centuries of our era the Roman Government was gravely concerned on more than one occasion with the state of the Northern Frontier of its province of Britain. To this day there remain traces of two widely-separated fortified lines drawn across the island from sea to sea. The first is that from Tyne to Solway. This measures some 73 or 74 English miles from Wallsend east of Newcastle-on-Tyne to Bowness on Solway. The second line of fortification ran from the Clyde to the Forth, and is known as the "Scottish Wall," in distinction from the first, which is the "British Wall" *par excellence*. It is this, the British Wall from Tyne to Solway, which is always associated with the name of the Emperor Hadrian. The Scottish Wall was built by order of his successor, the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Except in so far as it may be regarded as the prosecution of an idea expressed by Hadrian's Wall, the Scottish Wall does not concern the biographer of the earlier Emperor. The brief description, however, given by the ancient authority of the nature of the Scottish Wall does curiously affect one of the many problems which in the case of Hadrian's Wall have excited attention.

The main problem of the "Wall" is this. On this line, from Tyne to Solway, there are found indubitable, and often impressive, remains of more than one system of fortification or boundary work. There seem in fact to be certainly three of such types of work. There exists firstly a "Stone Wall" together with Stone Forts of similar masonry. Next, there is a "Vallum," i.e. an earthern "Rampart and Ditch" system as it has been called. Thirdly there have recently come to light along a very short section of the whole line traces of a "Turf Wall" quite distinct from the earthern "Vallum". Are then Stone Wall, "Vallum," and Turf Wall connected in the plan of their earliest builders or are they of different time and idea? If the latter, with which is

[1] Throughout this entire chapter I owe the greatest thanks to Mr. R. G. Collingwood, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, who not only read it in MS. and made many valuable suggestions and criticisms on it, but himself contributes Note B.

Hadrian's name to be associated? Modern views upon this problem have been many, and differ in cases very sharply.[1]

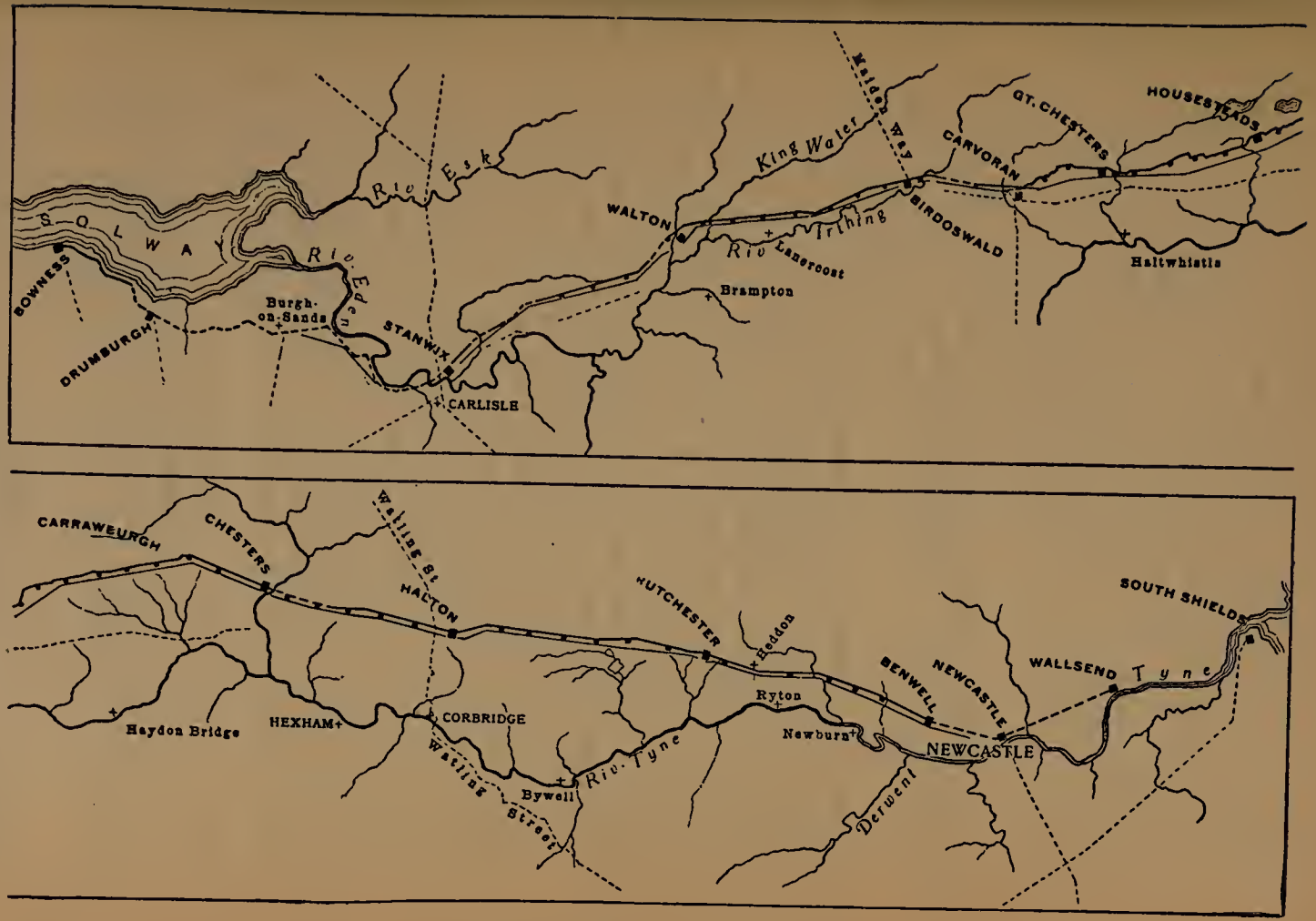
That Hadrian commanded a wall to be built from Tyne to Solway is a fact not in dispute. His motive for this is also at least now clear, not only when his wall is considered in the light of his general frontier policy, but also in view of the general history of the northern frontier in Britain during the half century preceding his own visit to the province. This history has been made manifest only in very recent years.

Agricola, Domitian's general, was the first Roman commander to appear upon the scene in North Britain. After five years' strenuous campaigning he had pushed forward as far as the Clyde-Forth line, and built a chain of forts, earthern probably, not stone forts, along this line in Scotland. His own adventurous spirit called him then northwards ever. But Domitian had sound reasons for thinking that any such further advance, at least in the shape of any permanent occupation of Caledonian wilds, was undesirable. Two more years indeed were allowed by the Emperor to his famous general. In them Agricola carried the Roman eagles at least as far as, if not beyond, the river Tay, and fought and won his notable victory of the " Mons Graupius ". The actual site of this battle remains quite uncertain to this day. But then the Flavian Emperor, in A.D. 84, recalled Agricola from Britain. Nor was the general the only Roman then recalled. Domitian, a ruler as careful of man-power as of finance, was in sore straits for troops for the safe-guarding of the more important frontiers on the Rhine and on the Danube. From eight to ten thousand Roman soldiers, it seems, were by the Emperor's orders transferred from Britain at the time of Agricola's recall.

Thus the Caledonian Highlands remained for ever independent of Rome. None the less, the Romans stayed yet for many years in occupation of Southern Scotland up to the line of Agricola's forts on the Tay. At times both this occupation and the forts which secured it were threatened by the dangerous savages to the north. But the barrier held firm until once again Roman policy in other parts of the Empire reacted on Britain. The greatest of warrior-Emperors, Trajan, cared but little for this poor pawn upon the chess-board of conquest. His wars in Dacia and the far East meant a lavish expenditure of troops, of whom indeed the Roman Empire never possessed any great reserve. If towards the end of Trajan's reign the northern natives in Caledonia rose they found small hindrance to their ravagings. When far to the south, as has been seen,[2] the Brigantes of Yorkshire and Northum-

[1] References to these by name only in the chapter are explained fully in the Bibliography at its end.

[2] See above, p. 137.



MAP OF HADRIAN'S WALL IN BRITAIN

berland were in wild insurrection, Southern Scotland can have been no place for any peaceful Roman settler or tiny Roman garrison. It was on his first journey that the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 121 or 122 came to visit Britain.[1] He found little security at the time existent for any Roman north of the river Humber. His decision was soon taken. The very idea of holding any part of Scotland was surrendered. The Emperor drew the line of his famous "Limes Imperii" in Britain along the longer but more easily defensible neck from Tyne to Solway. Outlying forts were pushed forward into Dumfriesshire and as far as the Cheviots. But the actual garrisoned line of defence against the north was now marked by "Hadrian's Wall".

"Thus Hadrian gave up a large expanse which had been Roman before Trajan mounted the throne. That is part of the price which the Empire paid for the splendid and costly luxury of a conquering Emperor." [2]

That the "Wall" looked southwards towards the recently disturbed land of the Brigantes as a means of pacification as well as northwards confronting the independence of the lost districts is certain. Of this a little will be said later, as also concerning the subsequent history of this the northern frontier of Britain.[3] But Hadrian's Wall did mark a great stage in the history of the Roman conquest of our country. It was essentially a defensive measure against the barbarian, and in so determining it Hadrian was true to his general frontier policy, however considerable the sacrifice of earlier-won territory which this policy involved.

But "if the frontier went back, the fortification of it went forward".[4] And here the more precise difficulties of the problem of the "Wall" begin. But a biographer of Hadrian, before he ventures to consider or attempts to resolve those difficulties, is bound to suffer two restraints. He must, in the first place, bear in mind that the close and minute scrutiny of all the available material evidence concerning the nature, the structure, and the erection of the "Wall" and of its fortifications is a task rather for the antiquarian than for the historian. This indeed has always been the case.

For the literary or "quasi-literary" [4] evidence is so scanty that it may be cited in a few sentences.

Agricola planted garrisons and forts in a newly conquered part of Britain.[5] Hadrian built a wall for a length of 80 miles in

[1] See above, p. 82.
[2] Haverfield, "Roman Scotland," p. 481.
[3] See below, p. 163.
[4] Haverfield.
[5] Tacitus, "Agricola," 20, 3. "Quibus rebus multae civitates . . . datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae sunt tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars pariter illacessita transierit."

order to separate barbarians and Romans.[1] Antoninus Pius built another wall of turf.[2] This is certainly the Scottish Wall, but unhappily the actual Latin of the sentence is so ambiguous that it may mean either " another turf wall " or " another wall, a turf one ". The former rendering would imply that Hadrian built a Turf wall. The latter gives no indication concerning the material of Hadrian's Wall. And it is this second rendering which is slightly the more probable as a mere matter of Latin translation.[3] Finally, Septimius Severus built a wall across the island from sea to sea.[4] Since the Scottish Wall was by this time abandoned, Severus' building is always taken to refer to the southern line again from Tyne to Solway, though the length of 32 (or 132) miles given for his wall by ancient authority is in any case a hopeless figure. With these brief and isolated remarks the ancient literary evidence quits the scene. It is at this point that the antiquarian enters joyfully upon the stage, and has the right to engross the rest and the greater part of our attention.

Ever since the days of Camden[5] the British Wall, called by him the " Murus Picticus," has called for notice by its extant remains. But it was Horsley in his " Britannia Romana " who, in 1724, laid the solid foundations for the monumental work of laborious and indefatigable antiquarian enquiry which has never since ceased to excite pains and zeal of the highest order in his successors such as Hodgson and Bruce who have toiled upon the " Wall ".[6] And yet, the more prolonged the researches were, the more remote for many years seemed any definitely certain solution of the problems of the " Wall ".

And again, although the intrinsic interest of Hadrian's Wall for British, perhaps also for Colonial and American, readers may justify the amount of attention given to its problems, yet not too great a sacrifice of the sense of proportion may be made by the mere historian. This is the second restraint which he must admit.

[1] *Vita* 11, 2. " Britanniam petit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret."

[2] Capitolinus, *Vita Pii* 5, 4. " Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit Legatum alio muro cespiticio summotis barbaris ducto."

[3] Stuart Jones writes on the " alio muro cespiticio ducto " with confidence (p. 249) : " The biographer of Antoninus Pius tells us that that Emperor raised a *second* turf wall in Britain " (italics his). Contrast the more cautious Platnauer (p. 138) : " Whether the passage from Capitolinus means ' another turf wall ' or ' another wall, this time of turf,' cannot possibly be answered by an appeal to the Latin ". Prof. A. C. Clark suggests the reading " alto " instead of " alio ".

[4] Spartianus, *Vita Severi* 18, 2, " Britanniam, quod maximum eius imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit. Unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit." Cf. Dio Cassius 76, 12, 1, and the other references ap. Platnauer p. 138. These are mostly mere repetition and of no additional weight or use. Dio's account of Britain is highly ridiculous.

[5] Camden visited the district in 1599.

[6] The first edition of Bruce's " Roman Wall " was published in 1851 ; Hodgson's " History of Northumberland " in 1840.

For just as Judaea, by reason of the accident of its peculiar religious history, claims from the historian of Rome more attention than the value to Rome of that petty land seems ever to warrant, so it is always hard for us to agree that the province of Britain and all its concerns were for the Roman Imperial Government seldom of more than minor interest. It has, it is true, been eloquently maintained that "if we ask about the vitality of an Empire or the thoroughness of its machinery or the power of its statesmen to balance vigour with economy, the distant frontiers answer us. The centre must at times be sought on the circumference."[1] Yet how small a section of the Roman Empire's circumference did not Britain constitute! There was not even any tradition of ancient settlement or long possession to render the island dear to the heart of Rome as is a Newfoundland to the British Empire. Neither the peace nor the prosperity of Roman Britain affected seriously the general welfare of Rome. Unless indeed some conspicuous failure to secure these should react unhappily upon the far more valuable land of Gaul. Not that Rome could neglect or evacuate the island. Bad government or disaster in it provoked angry comment at home. Neither was it Rome's way to leave a task incomplete, to falter in her grip of the most distant possession of her Empire. But it remains a fact that this small island province beyond the streak of separating sea during all the centuries while Rome held it meant less to Roman strength, claimed less of Roman notice, than we are often willing to admit. If then Hadrian's Wall for many special reasons now draws us to itself as with some great magnet of fascination, yet must the historian envy rather than imitate that disregard of proportional values which both marks and befits the archæologist and antiquary.

§ 2. The Works of "The Wall"

There exist to-day along almost the whole line from Wallsend to Bowness-on-Solway remains or traces of a stone wall and of stone forts placed at intervals. These remains, as they stand still above ground or have been laid bare by excavation, retain an impressiveness of their own, sorely mutilated though they have been. The slow passage of time, the needs of local farmers and sharp-sighted builders, and especially the notorious depredations of General Wade in search of materials for his new military road from Newcastle to Carlisle in the eighteenth century have all wrought havoc with the "Wall".

The artificial line of earthworks, always known as the "Vallum," has been traced along the whole distance of the stone

[1] Haverfield, "Roman Scotland," p. 468.

wall, except for some 3 to 4 miles at both extremities of the latter. It never crosses the stone wall, but runs to the south of it and roughly parallel to it, at distances away which vary from 30 yards to half a mile. As a general rule the "Vallum" is 60 yards to the south of the stone wall.

Between the two, and along the entire length, there ran in Roman days a road about 18 feet broad. This road always kept in rear of the stone wall, but in places crossed and recrossed the northern rampart of the "Vallum". This road never however passed behind the entire system of the "Vallum" earthworks.

Then, well nigh a generation ago, in 1895, a fresh discovery was made along a section of the line of the "Wall" 3 miles in length. This was a small bit of a Turf wall, i.e. a wall of sods of earth regularly cut and built up after the fashion of a brick wall.

Stone wall, stone forts, "Vallum," and Turf wall constitute, together with some lesser fortifications, the "works of the Wall," which now claim a brief description.

The stone wall, when perfect, was of an average height which has been estimated as from 16 to 18 feet and of a breadth of 8 feet. It consisted of a stone facing [1] on both sides of a rubble and concrete interior. The northern face was built more carefully than was the southern. Immediately outside the former there ran a ditch or fosse, which was continuous along the length of the "Wall" except in those places where the nature of the ground made a ditch needless for defence purposes or impracticable. This fosse was of an average breadth of 36 feet and depth of 15.

"To the builder of a continuous wall continuity mattered more than slope or higher ground." [2] In their choice of ground the builders of Hadrian's Wall varied their practice. For the first 27 miles of its course from east to west the "Wall" does not invariably occupy the highest points of the flat moorland heights which lie on the north of the valley of the river Tyne. Its main object here seems to be to keep as straight a line as possible. "In point of tactical defence the "Wall" was plainly intended to maintain itself by its own strength, without much regard to aid from nature in this portion of its course." [2]

But for the next few miles from Sewing Shields westwards the "Wall" has deserted entirely this principle of directness. This is due to the nature of the ground. Cliffs and basalt crags replace the moorland, and the "Wall" pursues its course irregularly along their very edge, seizing always the highest ground. Here by Peel Crag and Winshields, where the crags fall precipitously to the miry pool-studded marsh land to the north, is the most picturesque and best-preserved section of the "Wall". It is at Winshields that it

[1] Of "opus quadratum".

[2] Haverfield.

attains its highest point, 1230 feet, above sea level. Still farther westwards the small river Irthing in its picturesque ravine flows by Lanercost behind the ridge crowned by the "Wall" to join the Eden by Newby, and lends to the scene that greater beauty which Cumberland may always claim over her bleak eastern sister county of Northumberland. Then the "Wall" drops slowly towards the flats of Solway, and in the cultivated land the very trace of it is not seldom lost.

The "Vallum," to the south of the stone wall, is a system of continuous earthworks. Viewed from north to south it presents the following features.[1] First comes a mound of earth; then, some 8 yards away, a ditch which is at top some 30 feet broad and 15 feet in breadth at bottom. Often on one or other (usually the southern) lip of this ditch is another mound. Finally, 8 yards away, is yet a third high earthern mound. This last mound is still in places a bank 6 to 8 feet high. None of the mounds were ever much higher than they are to-day, and there are no traces of any wooden palisade ever having been set on top. The mound in the centre, on the lip of the ditch, was certainly due in many places to some later deepening and cleaning out of the latter, which had become partially silted up.

It is tempting to imagine that the "Vallum" is the southern and the "Wall" the northern line of defence of the strip of country which lies between them, and this was long ago suggested. But if we compare the stone wall to the parapet, and the "Vallum" to the parados, of a trench system, we assume that the latter was intended as a military work. This view is now completely rejected. Yet the nature and situation of the two, the stone wall and the "Vallum," have suggested that both are parts of the same plan and constructed, if not at one and the same time, yet at least with a view the one to the other.

"The Vallum is not earlier than the Wall—or, more exactly, it was laid out by men who had the works of the Wall in view and decided to avoid them. It may or may not have been actually the first in order of construction." [2]

The short section discovered of the Turf wall is built of sods laid (as the science of military field engineering demands) "grass to grass". It is 12 to 15 feet thick.

This wall diverges in a slight curve to the south from the

[1] A useful picture of the "Vallum" in section is given in Bruce p. 21. This is reproduced, e.g. in Stuart Jones p. 249. Other sketches in Simpson and Shaw.

[2] Haverfield, in a letter to me written Aug. 8, 1916. But see Note B at the end of this chapter for the latest view, which makes "Wall" and "Vallum" indeed built within a year or two of one another, but the Wall *replaces* the Vallum to serve a military purpose, whereas the "Vallum" was "essentially a shallow ditch and *not* a military ditch". "It is now proved (1920) that the Vallum *is* earlier than the Wall, though very little earlier "(Collingwood).

stone wall at Appletree, 2 miles to the west of Birdoswald,[1] and rejoins the stone wall a mile to the east of this place on top of a cliff which here has a vertical fall of 150 feet. The northern face of the Roman fort at Birdoswald is in the same line as the stone wall, which was built to join it on either side (the original ditch of the fort being then filled in), but the Turf wall and a ditch belonging to it cut clean through this fort.

It is certain then that the Turf wall is the earlier of the two lines upon this section of the "Wall". On its discovery, the inference was drawn that the Turf wall once ran continuously from Tyne to Solway and was later replaced by the stone wall which occupied the same line, save for the 3 miles, and thus has elsewhere obliterated the earlier system. This inference is now rejected.[2]

Dotted at intervals along the whole line [3] there are fortifications of three distinct types. These are

(1) The "Stations," or Forts proper (Castella).
(2) The "Milecastles" (Burgi).
(3) The "Turrets".

All of these belong to the stone-wall system.[4]

(1) A list of twenty-three "Stations" is given by an early document, itself however as late as the fifth century of our era.[5] Of these however it appears probable that only twelve were actually on the line of the "Wall," ten of which were actually on the stone wall, sometimes lying astride of it, sometimes attached to its southern face, and two a short distance in rear of the actual wall and "Vallum". The first twelve may be given both in their Latin form and with their modern equivalents which are certain. Besides these twelve there are five Stations more, for which we cannot even suggest Latin names. The complete list is as follows: [6]

1. Segedunum (Wallsend).
2. Pons Aelii or Aelius (Newcastle).
3. Condercum (Benwell).
4. Vindobala (Rutchester).
5. Hunnum (Halton Chesters).
6. Cilurnum (Chesters).
7. Procolitia (Carrawburgh).
8. Borcovicus or Borcovicium (Housesteads).

[1] For the position and ancient name of this "station," see below.
[2] See Note B at end of chapter.
[3] "Per lineam valli" (Notitia Dignitatum).
[4] These are Bruce's names and are always used.
[5] The "Notitia Dignitatum". The variant forms of some of the Latin names are Kiepert's alternatives and seem justified by the "Notitia".
[6] An asterisk is attached to the three forts in rear of the line of wall.

9. *Vindolanda (Chesterholm, on Stanegate).
10. Aesica (Great Chesters).
11. *Magna or Magnae (Carvoran, on Stanegate).
12. Amboglana or Amboglanna (Birdoswald).
13. *Castlesteads.
14. Stanwix.
15. Burgh-by-Sands.
16. Drumburgh.
17. Bowness-on-Solway.[1]

The masonry of these stone forts resembles that of the stone wall itself. They are rectangular quadrilateral structures of great strength, and in size were capable of housing one cohort apiece, and were constructed for this purpose.[2] The largest of them is Amboglana, which covers 5½ acres. Their walls were from 5 to 8 feet thick.[3]

The distance from fort to fort varied considerably. Four miles may be taken as the average. But e.g. Hunnum is over 7 miles away from its eastern neighbour Vindobala, and 5½ miles distant from the next fort, Cilurnum, to the west.

The space between each pair of forts was guarded by the smaller defensive works, the Milecastles and the Turrets.

(2) "Milecastles" were forts of a much smaller size, measuring each some 65 feet by 75. As the name suggests, they were placed along the entire wall for the most part at mile intervals one from another. They were strongly built, and the stone wall itself formed their northern face.

(3) The "Turrets" have been called "stone sentry-boxes". They were placed at regular intervals between Milecastle and Milecastle. Each Milecastle had two Turrets annexed to it, one on each side. Very scanty traces of these slighter works now survive. Each Turret was recessed into the stone wall and occupied an area of about 13 feet square, with walls 3 feet thick.

Three Roman roads crossed the line of the "Wall," Dere Street,[4] the Maiden Way, and the Annandale road. The first pierced it 1 mile west of Hunnum, leading from Corstopitum (Corbridge), 2 miles to the south, to Bremenium (High Rochester). When presently the Scottish Wall from Forth to Clyde was built and

[1] The twenty-three stations of the "Notitia" are identical with the above up to No. 12. Its list then continues: 13. Petrianae; 14. Aballaba; 15. Congavata; 16. Axelodunum; 17. Gabrosentum; 18. Tunnocelum; 19. Glannibanta; 20. Alio; 21. Bremetenracum; 22. Olenacum; 23. Virosidum. Petrianae seems to be Old Carlisle, Aballaba Papcastle, Axelodunum Maryport, and Glannibanta Ravenglass, all in West Cumberland: Bremetenracum is Ribchester near Preston: the others are perhaps also to be sought between the Solway and the Dee.

[2] At first, a cohors quingenaria. Some were later enlarged. See Note B.

[3] A long description and ground-plan of a typical fort, Borcovicus, may be found in Stuart Jones pp. 252-255.

[4] Called, less correctly, by Bruce "Watling Street".

thus the country lying between the two "Walls" came under control, there must have been heavy traffic, both civil and military, along this great north road. The Maiden Way crossed the "Wall" to the west, running through the north gate of Birdoswald north-west to the Roman station at Bewcastle. Still farther west, at Stanwix, the Annandale road crossed, leading to Netherby on the Esk and Birrens in Dumfriesshire.

Far more closely associated with the general line of defence from Tyne to Solway was another road, the Stanegate, which ran south of and parallel roughly to both stone wall and "Vallum". It crossed the North Tyne river south of Cilurnum and continued eastwards to join Dere Street at Corbridge. On it lay two of the seventeen "stations" of the "Wall," Magnae and Vindolanda.[1]

§ 3. The Builder of "The Wall"

Here then are three works, a stone wall (with stone forts appertaining to it), a "Vallum," and a Turf wall. Two great Romans have been put forward as competing for the credit of the name of "builder of the Wall," Hadrian, and Septimius Severus. Even some part has been claimed for Agricola. What part of this credit is to be assigned to each? Even if certainty is now attainable, there is a pathetic interest attaching itself historically to discarded views. Rival modern theories were comparatively simple before the discovery of the 3 miles of the Turf wall lent a new complication to the problem. Unlikely refinements of view may be omitted.[2] Two main theories did battle together. The first ascribed both stone wall and "Vallum" to Hadrian, allowing him to incorporate isolated forts of Agricola into his defence scheme. Severus was left with the task of the repair and strengthening of the whole.[3] The second theory was simpler: Hadrian built the "Vallum," Severus the stone wall.[4]

Upon the emergence of the Turf wall theories of origin multiplied almost to the extent of the mathematical possibility of combinations. That this Turf wall was a continuous line of defence from Tyne to Solway, and Hadrian's work; that the "Vallum" may have been of the same date, but was no military work at all, but just a mere "civil frontier"; and that the stone wall must be left to Severus, unless indeed it be of Antonine date,

[1] For its position in the general scheme of defence, see Note B.

[2] E.g. that the eastern portion of the whole system is Hadrian's, the western the work of Severus! (Bury). Or that the northern rampart of the "Vallum" belongs to one date, the southern to another, etc., etc.

[3] Bruce and Hübner, following Hodgson.

[4] The old view—of Camden and (in a modified form) Horsley—still followed by Korncmann and others. "With Horsley the original theory of Camden reached breaking-point." (Collingwood.)

was a popular view.[1] Another view allows Agricola (?) to build the Turf wall, and gives the rest, stone wall and "Vallum" together, to Hadrian, leaving repairs again only to Severus.[2] But the latest view minimizes the importance of the discovery of the Turf wall. It was no long continuous line of defence at all, but merely a temporary expedient adopted for 3 miles and very soon replaced by the stone wall. Severus may claim extensive repairs of Hadrian's completed work.[3]

Agricola as wall-builder may be disregarded. The ancient historian, his son-in-law, merely states in the vaguest possible manner that the general planted garrisons and forts.[4] He ascribes to him no kind of a continuous line of fortification. Such a scheme as this is also out of keeping with Agricola's known ambition to conquer the whole of the British isles, Ireland included, and with his strenuous campaigns in Scotland. His very forts may have been placed in North Wales or Dumfriesshire rather than in Cumberland.[5] "No trace of a pre-Hadrianic wall can be found in this part of England."[6] Agricola had as much to do with the Tyne-Solway "Wall" as with Aiken Drum's Lang Ladle.[7] His business here is concerned with a fort or two on the Stanegate,[8] such as Magnae, which is proved to be of Flavian date.

"I don't feel that any solution of the puzzle is attractive" was recently the despairing cry of our greatest expert.[9] But now at last the excavator has solved the puzzle. The "builder of the Wall," that is, as interpreted, of stone wall, of stone forts, and of "Vallum," was all along the Emperor Hadrian. The detailed solution is best given in an expert's summary.[10]

"Solid under your feet is the fact of the Wall."[11] And it is another solid fact that a continuous line of defence from Tyne to Solway was drawn by the orders of the Emperor Hadrian as a result of his visit to Britain in A.D. 121 or 122. Probably this was the first such "Wall" in the north country in the history of our island.

It is not known how long the wall took to build. At least two

[1] Haverfield, in 1909, followed by Stuart Jones and others.

[2] At one time doubtfully approved by Haverfield.

[3] See at greater length Note B.

[4] Tacitus, "Agricola," 20, 3. See above, p. 153, Note 5.

[5] Bury (p. 503) believes in Agricola's forts on the Tyne-Solway line. Corbridge and possibly Carlisle may be his foundation. In the elusive shyness of topographical detail Tacitus in the "Agricola" excels even his own achievements elsewhere.

[6] Haverfield in a letter to me dated Aug. 1, 1916.

[7] To whom, even in these days, does not Agricola suggest the incomparable fourth chapter of Sir Walter's "Antiquary"?

[8] See Note B.

[9] Haverfield, letter to me of Aug. 8, 1916.

[10] See Note B for this.

[11] "Saturday Review," Sept. 3, 1921: a cocksure and faulty but very charming bit of journalist's work.

years may be assigned to such a task. It may have been nearing completion in September A.D. 124. The then governor of Britain who carried out his Emperor's commands, the very length of whose name befits the long and weary miles of fortification, was Aulus Platorius Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus Caius Licinius Pollio.[1] The "Wall" was built by his soldiers, men from six legions, the three then on regular garrison duty in the province,[2] and detachments from three others.[3] Doubtless many "Auxiliary troops" were also used. The (newly found) many "crossings" of the "Vallum," 'gangways' for the convoy of stone from the south, show that the "Wall" was built rapidly.

When, however, the work was done the actual garrison of the "Wall" consisted of Auxiliaries only, to the number perhaps of some 15,000 men.[4] The fifth century document (which represents not a contemporary but a much earlier state of things) enumerates as garrison sixteen cohorts and five "Alae," all Auxiliary troops. Of these, at least seven of the former and two of the latter are known to have been in Britain at the time of the building of the "Wall".[5] It may be inferred that for about two centuries these regiments had had their permanent headquarters on the "Wall". Even if they were recruited from time to time, as their regimental names may imply, from Spain and Gaul and Germany, yet so long a residence in Britain must have linked these regiments to their cantonments on the northern frontier of the island by countless memories of incidents and pleasures now long since forgotten. Thus was preserved the *esprit de corps* of the Garrison of the "Wall".

§ 4. The Meaning of "The Wall"

"Hadrian's Wall" was certainly planned and executed as a measure of defence against the northern barbarians. As such, it was one of the most striking examples of the Emperor's general frontier policy. But, as has been said, the "Wall" also looked southwards. For by it the natives between it and the Humber, still to some extent uncivilized and unquiet, were cut off from all easy intercourse with those in Southern Scotland. This same purpose of the speedier pacification of native inhabitants behind

[1] C.I.L. V, 877. Cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. III, 337.

[2] II Augusta, VI, Victrix; XX Valeria Victrix.

[3] VII Germina, VIII Augusta, XXI Rapax.

[4] So Bruce. Hübner suggests 10,000, "but rather as an under- than an over-estimate".

[5] The two Alae were the Ala Petriana and Ala I Asturum; the seven cohorts were I Hispanorum, I Frisiavorum, I Batavorum, I Tungrorum, II Lingonum, III Nerviorum, and VI Nerviorum. See C.I.L. III, pp. 872-873, a military "diploma" (i.e. discharge certificate) for men of six Alae and twenty-one cohorts, found in A.D. 1760 at Riveling near Sheffield. The names of three of the six Alae are lost. Possibly one or more of these three reappear in the list of troops "per lineam valli" in the "Notitia Dignitatum".

the frontier line dictated the forward movement upon the German "Limes". Presently, in pursuance of this same policy, in A.D. 142 Antoninus Pius commanded the Scottish Wall from Forth to Clyde to be built upon the line where, long before, Agricola had erected his forts. By this means the large tract of land lying between the two walls was once again to be placed under secure Roman control. But still the southern wall was held strongly, although a few of its garrison units may have been then withdrawn from it for service on the new northern line.[1] And when this latter was again after but a few years, and now for all time, definitely abandoned by the Romans, Hadrian's Wall remained the impregnable line of defence in north Britain. It has been said indeed that defence and pacification of the tribes to the south were not the only objects of the wall. As "a sort of huge elongated camp established in a country which the Romans purposed to make their own, it marked a stage, but was by no means intended to mark the last stage, in the conquest of the island".[2]

No such plan of a later advance seems to have been in Hadrian's mind either when first he commanded the building of the "Wall" or at any later time during his rule. He had provided at last adequate security for his distant province of Britain, and rested content with this "limit of the Roman world". There is no scrap of evidence to show that the Emperor either was ever dissatisfied with the work or wished it to be regarded as a temporary makeshift.

And, though threatened at times and even pierced and ruined in 181 till Severus rebuilt it and its forts which lay long in ruins,[3] the "Wall" served its purpose far better than the suggested alternative of a mobile field army could have done.[4] Behind its protecting barrier the province of Roman Britain lay peaceful, and in the third and fourth centuries of our era developed that happy and placid Romano-British civilization and culture the traces of which, found throughout England except in the far

[1] There are but scanty indications of the effect which Hadrian's Wall had earlier had on the disposition of Roman troops in Britain. Evidence at present scarcely proves the "wholesale regrouping of the Roman forces in North Britain" as a consequence of the building of the wall. Some forts hitherto garrisoned south of the new line may have been evacuated, such as Nether Denton, Castleshaw in Yorkshire, the lonely little fort of Hardknott which guards the exit from Upper Eskdale to the Duddon Valley, by which the track from the port of Ravenglass pursued its way inland (evacuated according to R. G. Collingwood about A.D. 120), and Slack in Yorkshire (evacuated some five years later according to Haverfield). Cf. Macdonald p. 133.

[2] Bury p. 504. On which Collingwood remarks: "Huge elongated camp—it was nothing of the sort: it was a line of blockhouses with garrisons of (mostly) 500 men strong = 100-150 men to a mile, which is scattering men very thinly. A chain of sentries keeping touch by signal-stations, would be nearer the mark."

[3] Cf. Dio 72, 8, 2. A similar disaster befel in A.D. 270.

[4] See Haverfield's trenchant criticism of this alternative ap. "Roman Scotland," p. 483.

west, never fail to excite admiring investigation. That civilization and that culture may own their debt of gratitude to the Emperor Hadrian who first gave security to Britain of the Romans.

When, after long years, peril began to threaten the inhabitants of the island from the sea, the " Wall's " use was smaller. Scots and Saxon " Winged Hats " could laugh at it, landing wherever they pleased in rear of it.[1] Yet it is curious to note how great a feeling of confidence seems to be begotten by the mere fact of a wall across an isthmus even though the defenders' position may any day be turned from the sea. The Spartans, doggedly persisting in building their wall across the isthmus of Corinth against the Persian invader, provide an historic instance of this soldierly shortsightedness (according at least to their rivals', the Athenians', tradition). But Hadrian saw no danger threatening Britain from overseas, neither for a century and a half did such peril break from the bleak north-east upon the island. His " Wall " was the first stout means of defence against Pict raiders by land from the north, reinforced always by the strong base " legionary " positions at York and Chester to the south of it. After eighteen centuries history has provided the closest of parallels on a gigantic scale. The continuous trench system in France and Belgium from the Italian frontier to the North Sea proved the impregnable defence against the modern barbarian, whom no mere fort or blockhouse system could have held back from the Channel Ports ; and it was impregnable, because the British fleet kept the narrow seas.

And when all the antiquarians have had their say, nay, even when they are neglected, the historian's romantic imagination may still linger for a brief space here on the moorland crest crowned by the " Wall ". Hardly even so may his vie with the old archæologist's enthusiasm :

" Dead indeed to all human sympathies must the soul of that man be who, in each broken column, each turf-covered mound, each deserted hall, does not recognize a voice telling him, trumpet-tongued, of the rise and fall of empires, of the doom and ultimate destiny of man." [2]

It is by the alien that the pilgrims to the " Wall " must be warned soberly against disenchantment :

" Only with the intellectual eye is the magnificence of the Roman Wall in north England rightly to be apprehended." [3]

Yet let this wanderer undeterred make his way up from the small friendly city to the south through prosperous farm lands and fields gently sloping upwards until he reaches, on a sudden and

[1] This is of course one historical blemish in Kipling's brilliant tales of the " Wall " in the " Puck " books. Yet how wonderfully vivid are his Romans and Allo the Pict. Such genius disarms all criticism and makes praise impudent.

[2] Bruce at Housesteads, pp. 140-141. [3] Hübner.

unprepared, the edge of the ridge (as when Cotswold heights break without warning down to the Vale of Severn). There, where the yet massive ruins of the "Wall" crown the height, he sees stretched out before him, many feet below, the far-reaching level of gloomy sombre peatland to the north. In the far distance is the misty peak of Criffel and the sunshine glinting on Solway's treacherous waters. Shadows come thronging towards him out of the northern mists, invading armies, knights, raiders, zealots, the fugitive, the dispossessed, the Scottish King, the Stuart Prince, marching, ever marching southwards towards the land of their ensnaring hopes. How short a time it is, as men reckon the passage of the centuries, since in this bitter border land there lurked always the hidden peril of robbery and murder for the wayfarer? [1] Here, amid the loneliness of the crags and the ruins of man's ancient handiwork, there dwells at least one vision for all time, that of the might and majesty of Rome, Imperial, defiant, guarding ever her subjects' peace, haughtily challenging the vain onslaught of foes who would destroy it. And with this vision comes some dim memory of that Emperor of Rome, the relics of whose work for Britain here on the far-flung northern frontier of his Empire have, as generation yields to generation, so long outlived Rome's mastery and the need which called his great work into being.

Night falls upon the scene. The vision and the imagination fade. Sober words of fact may end this pilgrimage:

"The Roman walls in Scotland and northern England have passed utterly out of our modern lives. They did not, in the end, save Roman civilization in our corner of the Empire. But before they perished they helped to do a work for which to-day all Europe may be grateful."[2]

NOTE A

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(2) Roman Scotland, ap. Edinburgh Review, April, 1911, pp. 469-490.
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[1] "Guy Mannering" is still perhaps remembered.
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BURY, J. B. History of the Roman Empire. London, 1893, pp. 502-504.
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But "for his remarks on Britain Kornemann seems to rely entirely on a very unsatisfactory article by Krüger in the Bonner Jahrbuch for 1903. His paper therefore, excellent on the other frontiers, is valueless on Britain." (Collingwood.)

The latest writings on the subjects are :

MOTHERSOLE, JESSIE. Hadrian's Wall. London, 1922 (popular but pleasing).
SIMPSON, F. G., and SHAW, R. C. The Purpose and Date of the Vallum and its Crossings. Kendal, 1922 (the latest excavations).
COLLINGWOOD, R. G. Hadrian's Wall: a history of the problem, ap. Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. XI (published 1923). (The first complete and a masterly presentment of the whole story up to this very year, 1923.)

NOTE B

THE PRESENT POSITION (BY R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A., FELLOW AND TUTOR OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD)

Camden (1599) thought that the Vallum was Hadrian's Wall, and the existing stone wall that of Severus. Horsley (1724) saw that the Vallum could not have been designed by any sane man as a military work ; so he disintegrated it into two elements : (*a*) the N. mound, which he thought was a *road ;* (*b*) the rest, which he thought was Hadrian's Vallum and fosse. Hodgson (1840) found that the inscriptions proved the stone wall to be Hadrian's, and therefore argued that the Vallum was Hadrian's counter-work against the south. Military men soon pronounced this impossible, and their verdict was confirmed by the careful examination of the Vallum by Haverfield (1894-1903). In 1895 the turf wall was found, and Haverfield suggested that Hadrian built the turf wall from sea to sea *and,* as a civil frontier-mark, the Vallum : and that Severus added a stone wall. This was disproved by Gibson and Simpson (1909-1912), who proved that the stone wall was Hadrian's.

By 1912 the following points were definitely settled : (*a*) The stone wall is Hadrian's ; (*b*) the turf wall, where it occurs, is earlier than the stone ; (*c*) the Vallum is not military and not meant for defence against anything at all.

Since 1912 a new view has been gradually put together, based on these points. In outline it is as follows :

Agricola established some forts on the Stanegate, and when after the great rising at the end of Trajan's reign it was necessary to organize a new defence, this was done by concentrating on the Stanegate. Therefore when Hadrian decided to fortify the Tyne-Solway line he began by improving the Stanegate, continuing it at either end, and building a chain of fourteen forts, a few on it, mostly rather in advance of it and reached from it. These forts were connected by a broad ditch, easily crossed but a conspicuous mark, to indicate plainly the distinction between Roman and

enemy territory. This was the Vallum. The line of the Vallum was patrolled by troops from the forts: but very soon they found the work too much for them, and several of the chief forts were enlarged so as to hold a *cohors milliaria* instead of the *cohors quingenaria* for which they were originally planned. Even this enlargement of the garrison, however, was insufficient to deal with the smuggling and raiding, and a few years after the original forts were built a continuous wall was undertaken, connecting them and serving not only (perhaps not so much) as a military defence, but rather as an elevated and protected sentry-walk where sentries were not liable to be knifed by raiding-parties every night. The wall was pushed right out to the sea at each end, and these terminal portions required the addition of three new forts, making seventeen in all.

The exact chronology of the successive phases is not certain; but the Vallum and its forts may have been begun before Hadrian's visit, much as the Claudian conquest was begun before Claudius himself came over; and the wall was certainly finished by about 126 or 127.

It was a stone work, but in one place, on the edge of the crumbling cliff that overhangs the Irthing, it was built of turf for 3 miles, perhaps because there were no quarries in the immediate rear. A landslide soon after made it desirable to move the track of the wall forward, and the new wall was built of stone. The whole work, forts and wall together, was thrown into ruin in the great rising of 181, and the repairs executed by Severus were so extensive that the legend grew up which attributed to him the building of the whole.

This view is not, as all previous views have been to a greater or less extent, a matter of guess-work. It is the result of a long series of experiments directed to the finding of conclusive evidence on each point at issue: a work begun by Haverfield in the nineties, and carried on in the last fifteen years chiefly by Mr. F. G. Simpson, to whom the theory as a whole is due. It is only since about 1920 that it has reached anything like a complete shape, and much still remains to be done in the way of clearing up details. In its main lines, however, the old problem of the Roman Wall has undoubtedly within the last few years reached, if not a complete solution, at least the provisional sketch of one which is not likely to be discredited by future work.

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATION

§ 1. Army regulations.
§ 2. Affairs provincial and municipal.
§ 3. Italy.

CHAPTER XI

§ 1. Army Regulations

HADRIAN'S keen interest in his army, in its efficiency, its training, its organization, its discipline, was shown strikingly during his travels in Germany and Africa. The Emperor himself was no amateur in military lore and practice. "Armorum peritissimus et rei militaris scientissimus." [1] Like Augustus and Trajan, he issued a number of general Army Orders which concerned many details.[2] And for military discipline he was always an enthusiast.[3]

At the same time, Trajan's long campaigns proved that the Roman army was capable as ever both of enduring hardships and of winning victory. There was no call for any drastic reorganization of the entire military system. The language used by some modern writers concerning Hadrian's "Army Reforms" is inflated. He never set himself to any general scheme of "reform," and if certain of his "regulations" constituted one at least of the "decisive dates" in the history of the Imperial Army Organization, he wins sufficient recognition even though a more exaggerated style of writing on this subject be avoided.[4] A general painstaking care for the troops; the enforcement of a discipline which, when war gave place to peace, might otherwise grow lax; some modification of detail in training and organization, though of no great extent; all this may be ascribed rightly to him. And as a result the Roman army remained what it had been, a well-tempered instrument of war, loyal to and proud of its traditions.

Organization claims attention first. A slight rearrangement of the effective strength of a legion made the first of its ten cohorts of double strength, the remaining nine still being composed of 500 men apiece. The number of the legion's centurions, sixty in all, remained the same.[5] Each legion now again had

[1] Cf. in general *Vita* c. 10; Fronto, ed. Naber p. 206; Dio 69, 9; Victor, Epit. 14, 10, 11; and Plew's elaborate monograph (see "Selected Bibliography" at end of book), besides the usual text-books, such as Marquardt's "L'Organization Militaire" (Fr. trans.), etc.

[2] Vegetius I, 8.

[3] See above, p. 81. Also "Disciplina" on coins, Cohen 540-549, etc.

[4] Cf. Marquardt, "L'Org. Mil." p. 361; Plew p. 84; P.-W.

[5] Cf. Mommsen, "Eph. Epig." IV, p. 227 sq.

attached to it its own special "legionary horse," 120 mounted troopers, who were quite distinct from the regular cavalry regiments. This plan seems to have been abandoned temporarily by Vespasian. There is no positive evidence that it was Hadrian who introduced it once more.[1] Nor is there any to show that it was he who first "invented" the "Equites singulares" (the cavalry bodyguard of the Prince's person)[2], or the heavily armoured cavalry known as the "catafracti equites,"[3] or indeed the system of despatch-riders, the "frumentarii," though he made considerable use of these last and was blamed for "spying" accordingly.[4] With rules for promotion, however, Hadrian did carefully concern himself, as has been seen.[5] Efficiency and length of service were his tests of merit to qualify for such. Yet there is one tale told of the Emperor which seems an exception to his usual practice of refusing promotion on other grounds, and it certainly forms a contrast to some situations which so amusingly (or pathetically) arose in the British army towards the end of the Great War.

"A certain man cried on a day to Hadrian, saying, 'My Lord, my sons have been called up for military service.'

"'All good luck to them,' the Emperor replied.

"'But,' answered the other, 'they are mere civilians, and I fear me lest they do aught unfitting, and leave me inconsolable for it.'

"'Be not alarmed,' said Hadrian, 'there is no war toward.'

"'Yet suffer me, my Lord Emperor,' pleaded the father, 'to become their soldier servant, that I may watch over them.'

"'The Gods forbid,' said the other, 'that I make thee servant to thy sons. Take thou rather this staff, and be centurion over the lads.'"[6]

Doubtless, however, the father was a veteran of Trajan's wars. Why else should he so have scorned civilians?

As a qualification for service in the Praetorian Guard there was a standard of height imposed.[7]

After Organization, Tactics. A former idea that Hadrian himself drew up a Manual of Tactics is now abandoned.[8] His

[1] Suggested by Von Premerstein ap. "Klio," III, 26: doubted by Plew pp. 64-71.

[2] See above, p. 50, note 1.

[3] Vegetius III, 16, 23, makes no special mention of Hadrian in this connection, though Bury asserts it (pp. 497-498).

[4] "This degrading measure" (Domaszewski p. 192). Cf. Marquardt, "L'Org. Mil." pp. 221-222.

[5] See above, p. 81. Cf. *Vita* 10, 8; *Vita Probi* 4, 3.

[6] "Sententiae," 13. The tale may, like all of these, be apocryphal.

[7] "Sententiae," 2. The candidate here was 5 feet 6 inches. Three years' preliminary service in an "Urban Cohort" was also required.

[8] Cf. R. Förster, "Hermes," XII, 449-466. Urbicius (temp. Anastasius) may have confused "Arrian" and "Adrian".

military expert in Cappadocia, Arrian, did publish such a handbook. The writing of such "red books" became easier, if not more necessary, at a time when tactics became stereotyped and "no new tactics could be created".[1] The same Arrian, in another treatise of date A.D. 136, shows us the legion drawn up in close mass formation, eight deep, the first four ranks pikemen, the second four spearmen, with a ninth line of auxiliaries carrying bows and arrows, and with cavalry and artillery on the flanks. In the rear were special reserve *corps d'élite* to reinforce any threatened part of the line. This was his own battle order against the tribes of the Caucasus.[2] It does not follow that it was the prescribed formation for infantry in attack on other fields, or that it had been newly and officially substituted for an older formation by Hadrian's War Office.[3]

For Army Training, on the other hand, precise orders were published. Hadrian attached great importance to constant exercise of troops in manœuvres. "Pacisque magis quam belli cupidus, militem quasi bellum immineret exercuit."[4] This is but one instance of his belief in the familiar Roman maxim that he who desires peace should prepare for war, a maxim which is the despair of many, and indeed it has peculiar risks of its own, since the preparations have an ugly tendency towards killing the desire. Imperial Rome avoided the snare into which Imperial Germany plunged headlong. All Hadrian's system of army training and his other military measures never led him to swerve a hairsbreadth from his chosen path of peace. But the army must be trained. Three "field days" a month were demanded of both infantry and cavalry. The former were to march 20 miles in full kit, and for part of the route at a pace quicker than the ordinary.[5] The pack of a Roman infantry man, with entrenching tools, added to his body armour and his weapons, might have seemed weighty even to a French poilu. The cavalry, also fully armed, were to practise in squadrons, charging, wheeling, retreating, jumping. A special army order directed that all manœuvres should be carried out by both foot and horse in hilly and broken as well as in level country.[6]

Of cavalry exercises in particular, which so engaged Hadrian's

[1] Marquardt, "L'Org. Mil." p. 348.

[2] In the ἔκταξις κατ' Ἀλβανῶν (?'Αλανῶν). Cf. Marquardt, "L'Org. Mil." pp. 349-350; Hertzberg, "Imp. Rome," pp. 152-153.

[3] As Bury p. 497.

[4] *Vita* 10, 2.

[5] "Cursu alacriore." But hardly to be translated "at the double," any more than Marathon's δρόμῳ.

[6] Vegetius, from whom this is taken (I, 27), does not say clearly whether this "vetus consuetudo" was due to Augustus or to Hadrian. Marquardt has occasion to complain that this writer, "who wrote his treatise on the Art of War between A.D. 384 and 395, and drew, as he tells us, from very diverse sources, has used these sources so maladroitly that we can never tell of what epoch he may be speaking" ("L'Org. Mil." p. 361).

own attention at Lambaesis,[1] much is said by Arrian in his Manual of Tactics. Walls and trenches were to be jumped, every kind of skirmishing was to be practised, and the various regiments were to use their own native battle cries, Celtic, Dacian, Raetian, and the like, as well as any special manœuvres of their own. They must be quick to learn useful devices from the enemy. In the East Parthians and Armenians, on the Danube Sarmatians, in Britain Celts—from all of these their foes they might borrow many a useful hint.[2] Among all the Roman cavalry regiments none might excel in prowess the Batavian Horse. One of their special accomplishments was the art of swimming rivers, they having many opportunities in their own dismal native country of becoming adepts thereat. This greatly impressed "the barbarians" in parts of the Empire far removed from the lower Rhine. Let the dead trooper Soranus make his vaunt, however boastfully, in the words which Hadrian himself wrote for his soldier's tomb:

"Where the vasty deep of Danube washes the Pannonian shore,
I, the first in skill and valour of my famed Batavian corps,
Witness, Hadrian, that I swam it, fully armed, where dark it ran!
Roman, Parthian, take your missiles, beat my shooting if you can.
Loosed I once from bow an arrow, in a flash a second drew,
Quivering still in air o'ertook it, smote it, clave it clean in two.
None I knew who might instruct me, none I found to lead the way—
Of such skill the first exemplar I, the first to give display.
Here I rest, my deeds entrusted to the ever-mindful stone.
Shall another rival *my* deeds, done by me, by me alone?"

Such the epitaph, found on the bank of the Danube in the ninth century.[3] Hadrian was always sympathetic with his soldiers. "He strove to know them all."[4] "He took most careful note of their lives, their quarters, their manners."[5] Such general assertions concerning his "care for the morals of the troops"[6] are illustrated by one of the Emperor's letters which has happened to be preserved. It was written early in his reign to his Prefect of Egypt, Quintus Rammius Martialis, and was published by the latter in orders to the troops in Egypt on August 4, A.D. 119. The sons of soldiers born during their fathers' time of military service had hitherto been denied any rights of inheritance. The

[1] See above, p. 96.

[2] Arrian, Tactica, c. 44: an eloquent peroration worthy of a Roman Red Book.

[3] C.I.L. III, 3676 = Dessau 2558. Cf. Dio 69, 9, 6. That the name of the man was Soranus and that the poet was Hadrian himself is said to be later, twelfth century, evidence. Mommsen, who thinks the inscription genuine, regards these names as additions, the inventions of a local patriot: "Batavi cuiusdam . . . patriae magis amantis quam veritatis" (C.I.L. III, pp. 462 and 1042). If this anonymous Dutchman himself went roaming on the banks of the Danube in the twelfth century (how else can he have known of the inscription?) he was a brave man, worthy of his Batavian ancestor. I do not know why the name Soranus should excite special suspicion. Cf. Dessau.

[4] *Vita* 10, 8. [5] Dio 69, 9. [6] P.-W.

Emperor now writes taking a more kindly view of the lapse from strict military morality implied by the old regulations.

"I know, my Rammius, that those whose fathers begate them during their military service have hitherto been forbidden to inherit their fathers' property. Nor did this seem to be harsh, inasmuch as their fathers had offended against military discipline.

"Yet do I none the less now make them a present of the opportunity which I take of interpreting more humanely the somewhat severe regulations of the Emperors my predecessors.

"To whatsoever extent, therefore, sons begotten on military service are not lawful heirs of their fathers, I decree that these also may now claim possession of their fathers' property in accordance with that section of the Edict which grants possession to blood-relations.

"This gift of mine both to my soldiers and to the veterans you are to make known to them, not indeed that they are to think that I am imputing such conduct to them, but that they may avail themselves of the privilege if they are ignorant of it."

This is certainly a "characteristic letter," characteristic of Hadrian's kindliness which can overlook a breach of the discipline to which he calls attention, and asserts anxiously that he is far from imputing to any soldier of his the irregularity, one result of which he is now prepared to condone.[1]

"Hadrian's regulations are military law to this day," writes the chronicler in the third century.[2] "Military duties observe the rules laid down by him, with a few changes made by Constantine," a still later writer states.[3] Military law in fact is tenacious of precedent, although to call Hadrian "the originator of the military system of the later Empire"[4] on the strength of such testimony is no wiser a proceeding than to identify some changes and improvements in a tenth edition with the whole of the first edition of a book. In Justinian's Digest one or two of Hadrian's orders are quoted as being still in force. "Soldiers released by the barbarians are to have their rank restored to them if they can prove that they were prisoners of war and not deserters." In such a case time in captivity was to count for pay and length of service. "A deserter may earn his pardon by the capture of brigands, these also being runaway soldiers, but not by a mere promise to effect such a capture." The English Manual of Military Law treats desertion more severely, but then it presumes, with curious difference of standpoint, that the enemy is civilized. If the military police allowed a prisoner to escape, they were, by

[1] A Greek papyrus in the Berlin Museum (Griech. Urkunden 140), published in 1892, and at first ascribed to Trajan (e.g. Bruns, "Fontes," ed. VI, pp. 381-382). Cf. U. Wilcken, "Ein neuer Brief Hadrians" ap. "Hermes," XXXVII (1902), pp. 84-89.

[2] Dio 69, 9. [3] Epitome 14, 11. [4] Bury p. 497.

Hadrian's orders, liable to penalties according to the circumstances, as proved after careful enquiry, of such escape. It made a difference also whether one out of many alone succeeded in escaping or a number together. To allow a prisoner to get away purposely incurred the heaviest punishment. If however the guard was simply drunk or negligent, he was to suffer nothing worse than loss of rank. (Evidently non-commissioned officers were employed on this unpleasant duty.) But "if he loses his prisoner by chance, no penalty". English military law assigns the punishment of penal servitude to a guard guilty of the crime of allowing a person in custody to escape wilfully.[1]

Lastly, an Emperor whose foreign policy was based on the sentiment of Defence not Defiance had none the less to pay careful regard to the maintenance of the numbers as well as of the efficiency of his comparatively small standing army. The establishment must be kept up to strength. "He took careful note of the number of the troops."[2] Above all, he would have good value for his money. "He would neither buy nor keep anything superfluous."[3] His soldiers should be worth their pay. The difficulty lay in the choice of recruits and the system of recruiting. The easiest plan by far was to recruit for the legions on the spot, i.e. in the vicinity of the permanent camps, the "Castra stativa," and this practice, which the earliest Emperors had striven to avoid, made considerable progress under Hadrian. In Africa he at least tolerated it, and it was in fact inevitable in a huge Empire where transport of troops was a tedious, difficult, and costly business. But that he was author of a clear-cut definite system of "Territorial recruiting" is unlikely. When such a system was fully developed, it led regrettably to the "barbarization" of the frontier armies, and also tended to emphasize the opposition between the legions of East and West with dangerous results.[4]

This local recruiting for the legions must not be confused with the employment of auxiliary troops on active service in or near their native country. This practice had been generally abandoned, for excellent reasons, after the German mutiny in A.D. 69-70,[5] and Hadrian was careful not to revive it.[6] He could

[1] Dig. XLIX, 16, 5, 6-8 (from Arrius Menander, De re militari, init. third century); and XLVIII, 3, 12 (from Callistratus).

[2] *Vita* 10, 1. [3] *Vita* 11, 1.

[4] Cf. Mommsen, Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit ap. "Hermes," XIX (1884), reprinted in Ges. Schr. VI, p. 20 sq., based on a comparison of C.I.L. VIII, 18084 and 18067.

[5] Cf. my "Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire," pp. 329-331.

[6] E.g. there is a list, almost complete, of 6 Alae and 21 Cohorts of Auxiliaries in Britain under Platorius Nepos in Sept., A.D. 124. This, one of the best preserved of all the Roman "military diplomata," was found in 1760 at Riveling near Stannington near Sheffield (C.I.L. III, pp. 872-873, No. 30). It shows Gallic, Spanish, German, and Dalmatian troops in Britain, but no single "local" auxiliary regiment. Twenty out of twenty-one cohorts' names are preserved. Cf. supra, p. 162, note 5.

trust legionary *esprit de corps* to maintain unshaken fidelity to Rome.

The fleet under Hadrian was of no importance.[1]

§ 2. Affairs Provincial and Municipal

The peace of the Empire was the greatest boon bestowed by Hadrian upon the provinces. There needs no labouring this argument to-day. At his accession the whole Roman world was weary of war. Thanks to him, it now enjoyed long years of tranquillity. If it was not Rome's way to lose a war, neither was it her misfortune to experience the miseries of misused peace. To the provinces the Emperor gave much besides. They were the great interest of his life, and he knew them personally and well. Had Hadrian been self-consciously a Cosmopolitan, he could not have served them better.[2]

The mushroom growth indeed of temples, games, and festivals, due at least in part to his presence and encouragement, could be disparaged as being, like churches, cup-ties, and race-meetings, but unproductive expenditure.[3] The economic man at least (if any have ever met him) looks askance at such. Roads [4] on the contrary, aqueducts,[5] bridges, harbour-works, and the like, all receive unstinted commendation.[6] Man does live by bread, if not by bread alone. Even baths and gymnasia serve practical ends. It was on schools and Universities that Rome always refused to spend a penny.

The finances of the Empire must indeed have been on the whole sound when local authorities could indulge such tastes for building so lavishly. They were encouraged by the approbation of the Government. Did the Treasury make them grants-in-aid as well? There is a trifle of evidence for this, a general statement or two, an occasional particular instance.[7] But Roman Central finance had certainly not discovered the peculiar merits of a percentage system, and, moreover, it had always been private generosity and not State-aid which was the marked characteristic of Roman Public Life. There have been found rash historians to

[1] Cf. Mommsen ap. "Hermes," XVI, 464-469; Bury p. 499.

[2] Bury here (p. 494) rather labours the obvious. His favourite epithet is certainly "unique". To much the same effect Schiller p. 617. Cf. Dio 69, 5, 3. Care for purity of provincial administration, cf. *Vita* 3, 9; 13, 10. Haenel p. 93.

[3] Cunningham boldly passes this criticism on the Periclean buildings at Athens!

[4] E.g. in Moesia (Eph. Epig. IV, p. 82, No. 220); Tres Galliae (C.I.L. XIII, 8906, 9024, 9045, 9047; VIII, 9065); Narbonensis (C.I.L. XII, 6024); Pannonia (C.I.L. III, 5733, 5744); Africa, Spain, etc. (Appendix C).

[5] E.g. at Sarmizegetusa (C.I.L. III, 1476); Odessus (C.I.L. III, 762); Segusiavi (C.I.L. XIII, 1623); Alexandria Troas and Gabii (see below); Dyrrhachium (C.I.L. III, 709)—given by Hadrian.

[6] Cf. Schiller p. 624; Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte (Eng. trans. II, 257-258).

[7] *Vita* 11, 1; cf. 21, 7. A "remission of taxation" has the effect of a grant-in-aid. Cf. the aqueduct given by Hadrian to Dyrrhachium (C.I.L. III, 709); his liberality to Baetica throughout his reign (C.I.L. XIV, 4335; cf. Eph. Epig. IV, 974).

praise this as a noble feature of that life. Labour could, however, in those remote days be contributed by the State instead of money, and Hadrian's legions counted skilled artisans, engineers, architects, builders, among their numbers, who were employed on local works.[1] Once more we are gravely tempted to admire the fond simplicity of Roman thought, which regarded the best means of getting good work quickly done, and had no need to concern itself with rates of wages or the monopolizing jealousies and irritabilities of Trade Unions.[2]

If districts fell into financial straits, temporary remission of taxation lightened the burden.[3] There was also another and perhaps a more efficient method of succour. The Emperor, following Trajan's example in this, would despatch special financial or administrative experts to take over the task of government from the existing local authorities whose bad bungling had made such Imperial "Correctors" or "Curators" necessary. At least four, perhaps five, of such appointments can be definitely placed to Hadrian's account. Publius Pactumeius Clemens, a learned lawyer, was sent as special envoy to audit the accounts of Syrian towns.[4] Another distinguished public servant, Lucius Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus, governor of Cappadocia under Hadrian in A.D. 138 and of Syria under Pius (in which office he died) was, earlier, "Accountant for Syria".[5] To Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, the most famous rhetorician and millionaire of the century, the Carnegie of Athens, was entrusted a delicate mission, between the years A.D. 132-135, when he was about thirty years of age,—that of taking over the administration of the "Free Cities" of the province of Asia.[6] Hadrian had sagaciously selected for his envoy a man both wealthy and generous. When in the course of his investigations Atticus came to the city of Alexandria Troas he found it sorely perplexed. In a rash moment the Town Council had started to replace its rain-water tanks by an aqueduct. The expense largely exceeded the original estimate of cost. It was left to the Government envoy to come to the rescue at his own charges and complete that most desirable but costly aqueduct.

These three were special missions. There is controversy, however, about the position of Lucius Aemilius Juncus, a native of Phoenician Tripolis, in Achaea in the earlier part of Hadrian's

[1] Epitome, 5.

[2] The number of Trade Guilds—Collegia—in the Roman Empire was amazing. But none of them concerned themselves with questions of wages, hours of work, etc.

[3] *Vita* 21, 7; cf. 11, 1: "reditus provinciales sollerter explorans".

[4] As "praetorius". Subsequently legate in Cilicia and consul. "Auctor juris" (Dig. XL, 7, 21, 1). Inscription of Cirta to their "patronus IV coloniarum" (C.I.L. VIII, 7059).

[5] Also as "praetorius" (C.I.L. X, 6006: from Minturnae).

[6] Philostratus, Vit. Soph. I, 25, 13, p. 548. Cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, p. 357.

reign. It is uncertain whether Juncus was sent by the Emperor as special envoy to the "Free Cities" of that province, or as governor of the whole. The former view is the more probable.[1]

The latter view implies that Hadrian transferred, at least for the time being, the government of Achaea from Senatorial to his own Imperial direct control. Such a remedy for Senatorial mismanagement was always possible, though it was applied but rarely by the early Emperors. For the old theory of an equality between Prince and Senate, as indicated by a division between the two of provinces as well as of other departments of administration, was the harder to maintain as often as the one partner showed openly in this practical way that his will was predominant. Hadrian, always careful of Senatorial prerogatives and feelings,[2] would not claim a "public province" to his own charge lightly.

Yet he certainly "took over" Bithynia from the Senate. There was good reason for this. Trajan had already sent Pliny as extraordinary commissioner to this province, and the famous correspondence between the two reveals how great were the financial embarrassments in this difficult country. Since then, the great earthquake in A.D. 123 [3] had done great damage there, and Hadrian, not content with liberality towards its ruined cities, judged it best to claim the entire administration of the province from the Senate. Moreover, towards the end of his life, he appointed a recent governor of Achaea, Tiberius Julius Severus, to be "Corrector and Accountant to Bithynia". Severus did well, and left grateful memories behind him there. By way of compensation Hadrian handed Pamphylia over to the Senate's administration. Pius gave Bithynia back again to this Body, which, none the less, it seems, retained Pamphylia for its own officers.[4]

Even a local quarrel about boundaries which excited Lamia and Hypata, two petty little towns in Thessaly, received Hadrian's direct attention.[5] He also sent to the governors of some Imperial

[1] Juncus: C.I.A. III, 62; C.I.G. 1346; mentioned by Juvenal XV, 27. Cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, pp. 28-29. He was consul in A.D. 127. For the controversy, see Dittenberger ad Eph. Epig. I, 245-249, as opposed to Mommsen, St.-R. II³, 858, note 2. As Tib. Julius Severus is "proconsul" of Achaea about 134 A.D. (C.I.G. 4033, 4034), the former's view that Juncus was envoy to the Free Cities only seems the more probable.

[2] See above, p. 69. So Marcus Aurelius, who sent "curators" to many towns, was careful to ask the Senate to make the nominations ("a senatu dedit": Vit. Marci 11, 2).

[3] See above, p. 85.

[4] C.I.G. 4033, 4034; Dio 69, 14, 4; Eph. Epig. IV, 505. Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus was "proconsul Ponti et Bithyniae" before A.D. 144 (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890, p. 643 (1); cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. III, p. 471). Pamphylia had a "proconsul" at least in A.D. 178. Its transfer to the Senate has been ascribed to Marcus Aurelius, and the sentence in Dio is supposed to have been misplaced by the Constantinian excerptors (Brandeis ap. "Hermes," XXXI (1896), pp. 161, 169). But Boissevain does not accept this view.

[5] C.I.L. III, 586.

provinces legal assessors, to assist them in their administration of justice.[1]

Towns and Town Councils were matters of considerable regard. Municipal autonomy and local institutions were highly prized and widely spread through the Greco-Roman world of the time. No one can realize the history of the Roman Empire or the significance of Roman civilization for every succeeding Age who does not always bear in mind that the town, with its local self-government and keen vivid life, was the foundation upon which the whole of Roman culture and liberty were firmly based. One thousand years of vigorous civic life was Rome's contribution to European history.

Of Hadrian's regulations concerning local municipalities a few are preserved in record. He re-enacted the permission granted by Nerva allowing bequests to towns.[2] He exempted Town Councillors—" decurions "—from capital punishment, except such as were condemned for parricide.[3] This indeed was a rare privilege. Burial within the precincts of a town was strictly prohibited. This was one of the most ancient laws for the city of Rome herself, and at this point at least an absolute limit was imposed upon local autonomy through the Empire. Should a local magistrate permit such burial, he was to be fined and the body was to be exhumed. No local laws could override general Imperial statutes. " Oportet imperialia statuta suam vim obtinere et in omni loco valere." This was a maxim as valuable as it was emphatic.[4]

The status of a local town was not seldom cause of much heartburning and emulation.[5] " Alien " or " peregrine " communities craved as eagerly for the grant of " Latin rights," which formed a convenient and normal stepping-stone towards full Roman citizenship, as did " Municipia " to acquire the name and rank of a " colony ". However reluctant Hadrian might show himself to concede this latter privilege,[5] he bestowed Latin rights —" Latium "—on many towns.[6] Latin rights had always themselves been of differing kinds. It was about this time that yet another distinction makes its appearance, that between the " Lesser " and the " Greater "—" Minus " and " Maius " Latium. The local magistrates of all towns possessing the " Lesser " rights became upon their election to office *ipso facto* full Roman citizens. This was an ancient feature of Latin rights, reaching back to Republican days. But in towns enjoying the " Greater " rights, this great boon was extended to embrace all Town Councillors as

[1] " Legati juridici," e.g. in Pannonia. Cf. Diz. Epigrafico p. 607. Perhaps following the familiar Egyptian precedent of the Juridicus Alexandriae ?

[2] Ulpian. Cf. Gaius, ed. Poste p. 120. [3] Dig. XLVIII, 19.

[4] Dig. XLVII, 12. Cf. Reid, " Municipalities," p. 476. The same prohibition is in the Lex Ursonensis of Julius Caesar's time.

[5] See above, p. 11. [6] *Vita* 21, 7.

well. Now a local Council—the " Ordo decurionum "—consisted largely but not exclusively of the local magistrates and ex-magistrates.[1] It is clear that the " Greater " rights were a natural extension of and development from the " Lesser ". But it is the motive underlying the extension which is suggestive. This seems to have been the desire to popularize the position of Town Councillor as such. For such a man was liable to certain financial obligations and responsibilities for municipal taxes, and expenditure which, obviously, might be serious. There is in fact clear evidence that in the days of Trajan local worthies might be compelled to assume the burden of the office against their will.[2] At small and turbulent Pompeii less than forty years before there had been vigorous electioneering, and rival candidates for office and their partisans had pressed their claims insistently on an electorate whose apathy can only be estimated by the multiplicity of the election " posters " which, scratched or daubed on walls and public places, have been preserved to us under the lava and ashes hurled on the town by the eruption of Vesuvius. But, later, the burden of the responsibility for local taxes seems to have weighed more heavily, at least on magnates in provincial towns. The mere honour of the position of Town Councillor began to fail to be attractive. Yet a Town Council there must be. Hence a new attraction was provided by the invention of " Greater Latin rights ".

This device has been ascribed to Hadrian's inventive sympathy. There is no direct evidence for this. But the distinction between the two rights already existed in the reign of his successor.[3]

When Caracalla, a century later, bestowed the full Roman citizenship by a stroke of the pen upon all free-born inhabitants of the Empire, all such minor distinctions and grades of status were once and for all time swept thereby away.

The most important change introduced by Hadrian concerning the status of towns affected the permanent military camps upon the frontiers. Hitherto, no civil settlement which grew up in the vicinity and as a result of such a camp had received a charter of

[1] For a description of municipal institutions at greater length and of Latin rights and their varieties, see my paper in the Cambridge " Companion to Latin Studies," pp. 366-375.

[2] Pliny, Ep. ad Traian. 113.

[3] The evidence for maius and minus Latium is Gaius I, 96, written towards the close of the reign of Pius. That under Hadrian decurions were Roman citizens is proved by an inscription of Thisiduo in Africa (C.I.L. VIII, 1269 = 14763), and Gaius implies that the distinction existed before Pius. Hence its ascription to Hadrian by Mommsen (Ges. Schr. III, pp. 33-40) and others. Cf. Reid, " Municipalities," p. 242. Maius Latium is also mentioned in an undated inscription of Gigthi on the Tripoli coast (Dessau 6780. Cf. Reid p. 293). Gaius also discusses the relation of the " patria potestas " to the acquisition by a father of the citizenship through Latin rights or otherwise—a technical question of no great interest (Gaius I, 93-95).

incorporation as a municipality so long as the troops remained quartered in the camp. It was only when the legion was shifted elsewhere that its old headquarters and the adjoining settlement could become a city, a "municipium".[1] Hadrian departed from this practice of his predecessors. He gave municipal rights to communities which still remained the standing headquarters of a legion. It was a valuable experiment. The three great camps on the Danube, Carnuntum (Petronell) in Upper Pannonia, Aquincum (Alt-Ofen) in Lower Pannonia, and Viminacium (Kostolatz) in Upper Moesia, all became "Municipia Aelia".[2] Lambaesis in Africa was a municipium under Hadrian.[3] This must have been a considered policy even if it does not prove a new system of "territorial recruiting" for the legions.[4] It was adopted also by Marcus Aurelius for the legionary headquarters in Dacia, the camp at Apulum. Many veterans in such towns must have become local magistrates, and have been able to give considerable help in cases of sudden peril to the army officers. Thus the new system not only fostered the growth of Roman towns just where there was the greatest need for and use of these, on the outskirts of civilization, but it was both symptomatic of and auxiliary to that general peace on the frontiers which is one of Hadrian's proudest achievements.

With the exception of this new treatment of the standing camps there is nothing in Hadrian's handling of affairs provincial and municipal which is peculiarly exciting, epoch-making, or "unique". It presents the picture of an estimable administration, regular, blameless. That the Emperor was hailed as "Restorer" in most provinces, or as "Restorer and Enricher of the whole World," was just by way of pretty compliment.[5] In spite of recent war neither provinces nor world were then in such a condition of delapidation as to require drastic restoration or that enrichment for which the unhappy modern world cries out so desperately and so vainly.

§ 3. Italy

There is no record of Hadrian which shows any expressed intention on his part to treat Italy as if she were just a province

[1] E.g. Poetovio becomes a colonia under Trajan only when its legion—XIII—is moved to Vindonissa. Per contra, Camulodunum, the British colonia, and Sarmizegetusa, chief town in Roman Dacia, were not legionary headquarters. Cf. on the whole subject Mommsen, Die römischen Lagerstädte ap. "Hermes," VII (1873), pp. 299-326 (= Ges. Schr. VI, 176-203).

[2] A name applicable also to Pius, but more suggestive of Hadrian.

[3] There is mention here under Hadrian of a "primus duumvir municipii" (C.I.L. VIII, 2776), and of a "Curia Sabina" (C.I.L. VIII, 2714), i.e. an electoral division appropriate to a municipium.

[4] See above, p. 176.

[5] Frequently on coins. Cf. Eckhel 486-500; Cohen II, 209-214.

or to " elevate " the provinces to the rank of Italy.[1] How could a Roman be guilty of such folly ? Tradition as well as Fortune's gift of beauty must still mark her as a land apart, nor yet had the latter, her ill-starred fate, wrought for her the " infiniti guai " over which her great patriot poet mourned one hundred years ago. Italy, England, France—it is these names which kindle the glow of passion in men's hearts. It is this passion which for long years of history may defy political theory, expediency, disaster. How may Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, United States, with their ugly names, stimulate such devotion ?

Under Hadrian's benign rule the " mother country " pursued her peaceful way within her ancient boundaries,[2] neither attracting nor demanding any special care from the Emperor. Trajan had laboured so indefatigably for Italy's prosperity that there was no need for Hadrian to vie with his predecessor on her behalf. That innumerable inscriptions in his honour are found in all parts of the country is matter of course.[3] We hear of aqueducts also at Gabii,[4] Antium,[5] Cingulum ;[6] of harbour-works at Puteoli[7] and Lupiae (Lecce) ;[8] of temple-building at Antium[5] and Caiatia ;[9] of a restored statue of Juno at Lanuvium.[10]

Road repairs proceed merrily.[11] Ostia pays Hadrian pleasant thanks for services rendered.[12] There is the customary Tiber flood.[13] There is nothing exceptional or unique in all this. Neither is there in his acceptance of the chief local magistracy in various Italian towns.[14] An Imperial regulation that no house should be

[1] As P.-W. and others. A similarity of coinage types proves little. Cf. Schiller p. 617.

[2] Mommsen (ap. C.I.L. III, 3915, pp. 496, 498) argues that Hadrian extended the north-east frontier of Italy to include a portion of the road from Emona by Noviodunum and " Ad Fines " to Siscia in the Save valley in Upper Pannonia. This inscription is one in honour of Hadrian set up by the " Aelii Carni cives Romani," and was found at Strascha near Noviodunum. He suggests therefore that there was an extension of the civitas to the population here and its incorporation into Italy. There is nothing in the inscription to warrant this last, and the " Ad Fines " of the road (ap. Tab. Peut.) refers almost certainly to the Dalmatian-Pannonian, and not to an Italian-Pannonian, frontier. The repairs executed on the road by L. Fabius Cilo, governor of Upper Pannonia, in A.D. 201, prove nothing.

[3] Cf. Diz. Epig. p. 622 sq. [4] C.I.L. XIV, 2796.

[5] C.I.L. IX, 6652 ; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. VIII, 20. [6] C.I.L. IX, 5681.

[7] Planned by Hadrian but executed by Pius. Cf. Stuart Jones, " Companion," p. 156.

[8] Pausanias VI, 19, 9. [9] C.I.L. X, 4574. [10] C.I.L. XIV, 2088.

[11] E.g. Via Julia Augusta, from Placentia to Vada, A.D. 125 (C.I.L. V, 8102, 8103, 8106) ; Via Cassia, from Chuisi to Florence, etc. An interesting " restoration " of over 15 miles of the Via Appia (Dessau, 5875) shows that the property-owners near by contributed one-third and the Emperor two-thirds of the cost, which works out at something over £1000 a mile (Stuart Jones, " Companion," p. 48).

[12] In A.D. 133 (C.I.L.VI, 972). [13] *Vita* 21, 6.

[14] E.g. Praetor in Etruria ; Dictator, Aedile, Duumvir, in " Latin towns," probably at Lanuvium the first and Arpinum the second ; Demarch at Naples ; Quinquennalis at Hadria. Similarly he was Quinquennalis at Italica in Spain—" patria sua " (*Vita* 19, 1). It was an old-established Imperial courtesy to accept honorary office of the kind.

pulled down to be taken away as building material for another town is pleasing,[1] and another, which prohibited riding on horseback in a town,[2] is intelligible enough to any visitor to the ruins of ancient Pompeii or to any pedestrian who has stumbled over the narrow slippery streets of any small Italian city to-day. It did not matter much if the rider broke his neck. But there were the children playing in the streets, the women gossiping at the corners and marketing outside the counters of the tiny open shops, who had to be considered.

Nerva had founded, and Trajan had developed, the famous "Alimentary System," i.e. the maintenance of poor Italian children by the interest paid on loans made by the State to farmers (who mortgaged their farms as security). Very precise rules had been laid down concerning the selection locally of the boys and girls and the amount of maintenance-money paid their parents. Hadrian sympathized with the plan, as did the two Princes who succeeded him. He fixed the age limit up to which the children should receive their doles at eighteen years for boys and fourteen for girls.[3] He may also have added to the capital earmarked for this philanthropic object. The officials, however, the "Praefecti Alimentorum," whom the Emperor appointed to supervise the working of the system, were now given other duties as well in connection with the upkeep of the great trunk roads. Presently these district prefects were abolished in favour of a central Ministry in Rome and local administrators under it.

It is one more of the many parallels between Roman and modern history that towards the end of the century, when for lack of funds the whole maintenance system was on the point of collapsing, the officials of the Ministry continued to be appointed regularly and, of course, to draw their pay. The Charity still maintained the inspectors and overseers. It was the children who ceased to benefit by it.

Hadrian would never have suffered even an official bureaucracy thus to rob the children, for whose welfare he never failed to care. The appointment of guardians was usually the duty of the consul, until Marcus Aurelius created a "Praetor tutelaris" for the purpose. But Hadrian not seldom took the task upon himself.[4] Certain tales told of the Emperor later illustrate his interest in

[1] *Vita* 18, 2. [2] *Vita* 22, 6.

[3] Ulpian (ap. Dig. XXXIV, 1, 14, 1) dissents emphatically from another lawyer who recommended that the maintenance given to children should cease at the age of puberty (which in England is fourteen for boys and twelve for girls) and appeals to Hadrian's edict as proof that the longer time is required. For Pius cf. *Vita Pii* 8, 1; Marcus Aurelius, *Vita Marci* 11, 2. The whole subject of the "Alimenta" is fascinating, but must receive lengthy treatment in the story of Nerva and Trajan. Hadrian just carries on, with slight improvements. Cf. Hirschfeld, "Beamten," 2nd ed., pp. 212-224.

[4] *Vita* 22, 1; cf. *Vita Marci* 10, 11.

children and in the relations which he thought ought to exist between them and their parents : [1]

" A certain woman complained to Hadrian that her son's guardian had given him no maintenance for three years past. The Emperor sent for the guardian and asked him if this were so. He admitted it, but said that in the absence of his partner he was unable to pay anything over. Then said Hadrian, ' And were you appointed guardian to the fatherless to kill him of hunger ? Give him such maintenance as your substance allows.' "

And again :

" A certain woman cried to the Emperor one day, saying, ' I pray thee, my Lord Emperor, command my son that he give me maintenance, seeing that he neglects me.' But the son, standing beside her, made answer, ' I, Lord Emperor, know not this woman for my mother '. Then said Hadrian, ' If thou knowest not this woman for thy mother, neither know I thee for citizen of Rome '."

And once again :

" A certain man appealed to the Emperor against his son, who, said he, neglected him and refused him maintenance albeit he was now poverty-stricken and in bad health. Yet had he spent all his substance upon the lad.

" Then Hadrian summoned the youth and said to him, ' Cherish thy father. It was for this that he begate thee. And take thou heed lest I hear complaint again from him concerning thee.' "

Thus speaks common humanity, with reservations in Solon's day or in Judea in the time of Christ ; without them, by Hadrian's rulings.

Nor could any man whisper against him who thus sternly admonished filial neglect that he set no example in high places. There is a letter extant to Plotina from Hadrian, her adopted son. Who will not acknowledge its simplicity and charm ?

" Greeting, my dearest and most honoured Mother ! As you make many prayers to the Gods for me, so also pray I to Them for you. Your pity and honoured dignity achieve all things. I am glad, by Heracles, that everything I do pleases you and wins your praise.

" You know, Mother, that to-day is my birthday. We must have dinner together on my birthday. Please get ready and come with my sisters as early as you can. Sabina is away in the country, but she has sent me her own birthday present. Come then quickly, as quickly as ever you can, that we may spend the happy day together." [2]

[1] These tales are from the " Sententiae," a delightful source ; concerning this cf. Appendix A, at end of book. The three following tales are §§ 12, 14, 4 respectively.

[2] " Sententiae," § 15. Year quite uncertain. The mention of " sisters " casts some special doubt on the authenticity of the letter, as otherwise Hadrian is never known to have had more than one sister, the wife of Servianus. " Ma se non e vero——."

The thought of home life and its quiet affections and that of Roman Italy are never so far sundered that such digression from Hadrian's work for the homeland needs great apology.

Finally comes a new legal institution of Hadrian's for Italy which is of some notoriety. When law comes in at the door, domesticity doubtless flies out of the window. Yet some of these tales show also how often complainants must have resorted to the Emperor for judgment. Neither he nor the City Prefect, his representative in his absence, could be everywhere, and it was difficult too for many litigants to bring appeal cases all the far way to Rome.

Hadrian therefore created a new judicial office in the shape of four "Circuit Judges of Appeal". Their title was simply "Judices". They were consulars. The whole of Italy was divided up into four districts, to each of which one of the new judges was assigned. In it he went on circuit.[1]

This was a new development,[2] and the "decentralization" of justice must have been a great convenience to appellants. Unhappily we remain in almost complete ignorance concerning the extent of the competence of the new judges or of the finality of their decisions. To treat the institution as a blow aimed by a hostile Emperor at Senatorial jurisdiction is surely an exaggeration.[3] To cite it as proof that he ranked Italy now no more highly than any province[4] is an equally strained misinterpretation of what was essentially just a bit of quite useful legal reform devised to speed up appeal litigation. And the new "Territorial Judge of Appeal" might have in cases some useful local knowledge denied to the Roman city magistrate. It is of course possible that the new system gave some offence to the Senate. And it lasted but a brief while. But Marcus Aurelius thought it desirable to revive the system, with a few slight modifications in it. The later Circuit Judges were of slightly lower rank, being "praetorii" only; they received as a distinctive title that of "Juridici"; and considerable parts of Italy were excluded from their sphere of operation. In this shape, the institution lingered on to the days of Valerian and Gallienus.

Hadrian's creation probably had one most important effect, if, as seems likely, it induced the Emperor, or, at least, helped to induce him, to set his hand to the greatest and most famous piece of law reform of the early Empire. The Circuit Judges must surely administer one and the same law. What then was this

[1] *Vita* 22, 13; Appian, B. C. I, 38; *Vita Pii* 2, 11; *Vita Marci* 11, 6. Cf. Mommsen, Ges. Schr. V, 181-184; Reid, "Municipalities," p. 481; Schurz, pp. 8-10.

[2] Appian's "Sullan" precedent is worthy of that muddle-pate Alexandrian.

[3] As Platnauer, "Septimius Severus," p. 181, note.

[4] As Schiller p. 618.

law and how were they to know it? "Praetorian Law" was hitherto a vast mass of edicts and precedents embodied in such edicts, changing perhaps from year to year with their annual publication. There was now an added need for what is perhaps rightly regarded as the chief glory of Hadrian's reign, his "Codification of the Edict". The institution of the Circuit Judges may have made this work at once the more desirable.[1]

[1] A point brought out very clearly by E. Cuq, "Manuel des Institutions juridiques," p. 21.

HADRIAN

BRONZE HEAD OF COLOSSAL STATUE FOUND IN THE THAMES

Now in the British Museum

CHAPTER XII

LAW REFORM AND LEGISLATION

§ 1. The codification of the "Edictum perpetuum".
§ 2. The compiler of the Code.
§ 3. The Emperor and the Jurisconsults.
§ 4. Hadrian's own Legislation.

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. The Codification of the "Edictum Perpetuum"

THE reign of Hadrian marks an important stage in the history of the development of Roman law.

"It was reserved for the curiosity and learning of Hadrian to accomplish the design which had been conceived by the genius of Caesar; and the praetorship of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, was immortalized by the composition of the Perpetual Edict. This well digested Code was ratified by the Emperor and the Senate; the long divorce of law and equity was at length reconciled; and, instead of the Twelve Tables, the Perpetual Edict was fixed as the invariable standard of civil jurisprudence." [1]

It is the design of this section to explain and, to some extent, to supplement this well-known statement by Gibbon. The technical character of the subject has a peculiar fascination of its own. And the legal glory which illuminates the figure of the Roman lawyer is rightly reflected also on the Roman Emperor who laid on him the task which won undying fame and who approved the finished work.

Roman law proper was Statute-law.

In Republican days this consisted of the legislative enactments of the Roman people. The people in assembly was the direct source of all law.[2] In Imperial days such laws were supplemented, and indeed presently were supplanted, by decrees which emanated from two other sources of law. These other two sources of law were, first, the Roman Senate, second, the "Prince" or Emperor. Decrees of the Senate and the "Constitutiones" or "Placita" Principis [3] now had the force, the validity, of statute-law.

[1] Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Chapter XLIV; ed. Bury, Vol. IV, p. 450. The following references to more modern writers by name are explained in the note at the end of § 2.

[2] It must be beyond the scope of this section to sketch the historical development of, and the division of legislative functions between, the three Assemblies of the "Populus Romanus" (Comitia Curiata, Comitia Centuriata, Comitia Tributa) and the Concilium Plebis, whose "scita" acquired the entire validity of Statute-law.

[3] The Edicta, Rescripta, Decreta, and, perhaps, Mandata of the Emperor might all be included under this general title. Cf. Buckland, "Roman Law," pp. 18-21, for a description and differentiation of these.

The earliest attempt in Republican days at law-making on an extensive scale was the "Decemviral Code" known as the "Twelve Tables". This was supposed to have been drawn up in the middle of the fifth century B.C., when the Republic of Rome was still in its youthful days. Fragments of this code of the "Twelve Tables" are still preserved, thanks to the quotation of them in later years by Cicero and other lawyers and writers.[1] The code as a whole has perished.

Every Statute-law subsequently passed by the Roman people added to the bulk of the law. Upon the foundation of the "Twelve Tables" there was erected the imposing and magnificent structure of four centuries of Republican legislation.

But no Statute-law ever remains complete in itself. The need for explanation arises from the very first application of every new statute. New cases are constantly discovered which are brought and can be brought under the existing Statute-law only by means of such explanation. Indeed it may happen that a statute loosely, vaguely, hurriedly, badly framed is wrested by the interpretation far awry from the intention of the legislature which sanctioned it. Yet even granted an ideal perfection of the original drafting, exposition becomes necessary. The time moves on. The law cannot stand still. "Eppur si muove." Not even codification can stop this growth of law. It is but the vigorous pruning of an ancient tree, which forthwith puts forth fresh shoots.

Thus long before codification comes the interpretation of the Statute-law. This is now matter for the Courts. In ancient Rome the magistrate's was the explanatory voice in the bulk of cases so far as the actual application of law was concerned, though the higher criminal competence belonged in the city not to him but to the Roman people itself.[2] But one main growth of Statute-law by interpretations, and the appeal to such by way of binding precedent, the whole system, that is, of case law, or as we loosely use the term, of "Judge-made law," is the outstanding feature and merit of English law. Roman law never knew any such thing. There was no appeal to precedent.[3] The statement and interpretation of Statute-law in Rome constituted the "Jus honorarium". This title is derived from the "honos," i.e. the office of the Roman magistrate whose duty it was to

[1] The "Twelve Tables"—their relics—are conveniently found in Bruns, "Fontes Juris Romani," an invaluable work.

[2] Both as Judicia Populi and Judicia Publica (the Quaestiones perpetuae).

[3] Cf. the interesting passage in Capitolinus' Life of Macrinus 13, 1, which shows that Trajan not only disliked "Case Law" but was reluctant to trespass on the field of Statute-law by "Responsa" of his own.

decide on the application of Statute-law to particular cases. This magistrate was, from the middle of the fourth century B.C. down to the ending of the Republic, primarily (though not exclusively) the Roman praetor (or his representative) at home in Rome and Italy, the Roman "proconsul," the governor, in a province.

The practice then was this. At the beginning of his year of office, the City Praetor issued an "edict," which stated the principles and details of the Statute-law as he was intending to administer it. This edict was called his "edictum perpetuum," meaning that it held good through the whole period of his administration. Whenever during his year of office he found it necessary to supplement his "edictum perpetuum" by some pronouncement of law on a new point for which that edict made no provision, his additional declaration was called his "edictum repentinum".

In like manner his chief colleague, the "Foreign Praetor" (Peregrinus) each year published his edict, as did every pair of Curule Aediles together, stating the law they proposed to administer upon such matters as fell within their competence. And every governor of every province issued his "edict" on arriving to take up his duties there. This edict, which was valid only so long as he remained governor and applied, of course, only to his own province, was known as his "edictum provinciale". The number of magisterial edicts therefore published annually in the Roman world was considerable. But the "edictum perpetuum" of the City Praetor was always held in most esteem, and on it every "provincial edict" was certainly based to a large extent.

There was a second element of stability in all this mass of "edictal" law. Both convenience, and the existence of Statute-law which held good for all time (unless repealed), which also the "Jus honorarium" was always, in all its interpretations and amplifications of it, intended to express and enforce, constrained each magistrate or governor, when he issued his own edict, to pay regard to the edict of his predecessor in office. No actual compulsion rested on him to do this, but the natural tendency was to copy wholesale. It is certain that this was the common practice, although a magistrate could amend or amplify or even disregard his predecessor's edict if he chose, within the limits of the observance of the manifest provisions of the Statute-law. The "Jus provinciale" tended to be more fluid than the praetorian edict. For a governor might prefer to follow the edict of some former governor of his own or any other province whom he had reason to admire rather than that of the governor whom he himself succeeded, if he saw cause for dislike or disapproval of the latter's edict or administration.[1] Even so, the "Jus provinciale" in each

[1] As did Cicero when governor of Cilicia in B.C. 51. His edict he chose to base on that of a governor of Asia some years before.

province must have been apt to reproduce a standard pattern in its main principles of law, shaped for it in the edict of the "Foreign" Praetor at Rome.

There was therefore a striking result of this power to "assist or supplement or amend the jus civile" resident in every Roman praetor or governor. This result was the steady increase and growth of a large body of Roman law side by side with the express Statute-law proper. In Cicero's day many lawyers regarded this supplementary body of law as more informative than the Statute-law itself.[1] This was the "divorce of law and equity" of which Gibbon speaks.

This second body of law was, as has been said, largely "traditional," i.e. handed on from one praetor to the next (in Latin "tralaticium"). But the value of the system, not only in providing for the constant increase and development of law, but also in establishing a second great source of Roman law besides the legislature, cannot be exaggerated. The most important of all sources of law in the Imperial period was the power of the Prince to publish "Constitutiones". Though this power was conferred on every Emperor by Statute, yet in its essence it was derived from the old Republican "interpretative" faculty of the magisterial executive.

So unrestricted was the Roman praetor as a law-making authority that for many a long year he was not even bound himself during his year of office to observe the very rules and maxims of his own edict which he enforced on others. This however presently became a scandal, and democratic legislation of the year B.C. 67 by a "Cornelian law" compelled a praetor "to be bound by his own edict". This left the annual issue of the edict untouched, and with it that possibility of change in, addition to, and development of, the Statute-law which that annual issue implied.[2]

Experience, however, and the very probabilities of the case, showed that this system of "edictal" law had its disadvantages as well as its use. There was opportunity afforded by it to individual ignorance or caprice. Apart however from this defect, the "traditional" character of the "Jus honorarium," becoming, as years went on, ever more and more marked, was certain in due

[1] Cicero, De Leg. I, 5, 17. Cf. Krüger p. 33: "Practice became the essential factor in the juridical evolution of ancient Rome".

[2] Chief evidence for the above, Pomponius ap. Dig. I, 2, 2, 10; Papinian ap. Dig. I, 1, 7, 1. The latter passage may be quoted:

"Jus praetorium est quod praetores introduxerunt, adjuvandi vel supplendi vel corrigendi iuris civilis gratia propter utilitatem publicam. Quod et honorarium dicitur ad honorem praetorum sic nominatum."

For the Lex Cornelia of B.C. 67 cf. Asconius, Comm. on Cic. Pro Cornelio. The scandal was appropriate to that disturbed and revolutionary period when the Roman Republic was going fast down hill.

course both to suggest and to give the opportunity for its codification. Important questions would doubtless arise at once, due to this great work of codification if accomplished, regarding, for example, the power of the magistrate to add to or amend by interpretation the very code itself. But the first step was the codification itself, not of the body of Statute-law (a task reserved for a distant century), but of the huge accretions to it supplied by the "Jus honorarium".

The first to address himself to at least a part of this gigantic task was a Roman lawyer named Ofilius, who was a contemporary of Cicero and of Julius Caesar in the days when Republican government at Rome was tottering to its fall. Ofilius formed the design of codifying the "Praetor's edict," that is, the "Jus tralaticium" of the City Praetor.[1] Julius Caesar himself, the man who set no limits to any range of view, conceived a vaster scheme, that of a Digest of the whole of Roman law. For this plan he might have availed himself of the services and the learning of Ofilius. Death stayed his purpose. Nor did anything result from the lawyer's less ambitious plan. Another century and a half passed by. The Republic perished. Emperor succeeded Emperor. New great law-making authorities arose in Emperor and in Senate. But still praetors and governors continued to issue annually their edicts, and the body of the "Jus honorarium" grew ever more bulky and more cumbrous.

But what the Republic might well tolerate and indeed approve, the Autocrat had reason to dislike. Statute-law by the end of the first century of our era had passed completely under the Emperor's control. There was no longer any but nominal popular legislation. Decrees of the Senate had taken the place of, and had the express validity of, "laws". No such Senatorial Decree could be promulgated without Imperial sanction. The only other source of Statute-law was found in the Emperor's own "Constitutions"—the "Principis Placita". But one step remained to make the Prince in very truth the sole source of law for the whole Roman Empire.[2] The "interpretative" power resident in the praetor and governor, expressed by and in the "Jus honorarium," must be ended.

Of all the Roman Emperors it was first Hadrian, a masterful man, who decided in this way to rivet the grip of the Prince upon the Roman law. And to this general reason there was added a particular, the need of a uniform code to be the one and only official text applied by the four Circuit Judges in Italy as well as by the praetors. This has been already explained. Hadrian

[1] Pomponius ap. Dig. I, 2, 2, 44.

[2] There would still remain however the "Responsa" of the jurisconsults as a possible source of law. But on this question, see § 3 below.

therefore decided that the Edict must be codified. There then came into existence an " Edictum perpetuum " in a far broader sense of the term. For the codified Edict was now in truth " perpetual," that is, of universal validity without limit of time.

As a result of this codification, " the creative work of the Praetor was a thing of the past. . . . The Edictum Perpetuum was in its essential features unalterable." [1] The Edict " was thus a closed chapter so far as the praetors were concerned. . . . They had no longer any power to alter or make additions to it." [2] Before Hadrian there had grown up " a regular system of judge-made law in the praetorian court which became a most potent factor in the legal system ".[3] But now " the time had come to prescribe to the praetor the *entire* contents of his Edict. . . . The praetorian Edict became stereotyped and barren. Its task was done. All that remained was to cast it into a final shape and at the same time to define, in a legal form, the relations subsisting between the Imperial power and the Edict." [4]

The actual evidence for this codification and its consequences and scope is curiously scanty. Two late writers deign to notice it with passing remark.[5] But there is not the least doubt of the fact. The traces of it in Justinian's Digest are many, and that Emperor himself bore direct witness to it.[6]

The actual codified or " consolidated " Edict survives no more.[7] It is quite characteristic of Hadrian's respect for constitutional forms that when the work was completed he had it formally ratified by a Senatorial Decree.[8]

Codification did not make the law unalterable. But the one consideration of vital importance from the Emperor's point of view was that of the *source* of any future alteration or amendment. This source was henceforth to be the Prince and the Prince only, by means of Imperial rescript or edict. The evidence for this is the unquestioned authority of Justinian himself. In his preface to his own " Digest " that Emperor, anticipating this same likelihood of future amendment and addition, writes as follows :

" We are not the first to enunciate this ; it comes of an ancient stock ; Julianus himself, that most acute framer of statutes and of the Perpetual Edict, set down in his own writings that wherever anything should turn out defective, the want should be supplied

[1] Greenidge. [2] Muirhead. [3] Sohm p. 77. [4] Ib. p. 85.

[5] Eutropius 8, 17 : " perpetuum edictum composuit ".

Aurelius Victor, Caes. 19, 2 : " Primus edictum quod varie inconditeque a praetoribus promebatur in ordinem composuit ".

[6] Constitutio " Tanta," § 18. See this passage cited below.

[7] For its " reconstruction " and " scope," see Lenel's authoritative work (cf. note at end of § 2).

[8] Constitutio " Tanta " § 18. Cf. Girard p. 53.

by Imperial legislation. Indeed not only he, but the Divine Hadrian, in the Consolidated Edict and the Senatusconsultum which followed it, laid it down in the clearest terms that where anything was not found to be set down in the Edict, later authority might meet the defect in accordance with the rules, the aims, and the analogy thereof."

This "later authority" was certainly, *not* the annual praetor, but the Emperor himself. The Edict was "a death-blow to all further praetorian initiative". It was "fixed for ever".[1] There still remain vexed and disputed questions concerning both the scope of the codified Edict and its relation to the continued issue of annual magisterial Edicts.

That the Perpetual Edict was a codification of all preceding Edicts of the city praetors and of the Curule aediles is certain.[2] It remains debated whether its scope extended also to the Edicts of the foreign praetor and of the provincial governors.[3] There may have been another separate codification of the former, also framed by the same jurist.[4] And that one general comprehensive "Edictum provinciale" was also now framed by him seems likely,[5] in spite of the scornful remark by the great German master,[6] "A general provincial Edict is as unreal as a general man". Political philosophy at least has not disdained this latter conception of one who is first cousin to the economic man of a sister science.

It is probable also that praetors and governors continued to issue annual Edicts after the codification of the Perpetual Edict, that is, that they retained their ancient "Jus edicendi". But, if this view (which is challenged) be taken, such annual Edicts

[1] Justinian, Digest, Constitutio "Tanta" § 18 = the Greek Constitutio Δέδωκεν, § 18 (Monro's translation). Julian's own "writings" here mentioned = his "Digesta" (see below) and three citations from these ap. Justinian, Dig. I, 3, 10-12, prove the Emperor's point. Cf. Buckland p. 12.

[2] Thus the "Aedilicium edictum" of Justinian's Constitutio "Tanta" § 5, is mentioned as belonging to the "vetustius edictum," i.e. to Julian's codified Edict. Cf. Lenel p. 48. "Das ädilizische Edikt war von Julian dem praetorischen abs Anhang beigefügt," i.e. as an appendix. Cf. pp. 529-542. Buckland (p. 12) doubts this, and thinks the Edict of the aediles remained as a separate document.

[3] This view is held e.g. by Muirhead, Roby, and Greenidge, p. xlvii.

[4] This is Girard's view, p. 54. But Lenel (p. 16), describing its contents as concerned with just the "officium praetoris," couples the "urban" and "peregrine" praetor together.

[5] This is Roby's view as opposed to Mommsen who thinks that the "Edictum provinciale" on which Gaius wrote his commentary (see below) applied to the province of Asia only. But Roby (Introduction to Justinian's Digest, pp. clxxviii-clxxx) is very convincing. Krüger p. 255, thinks that Gaius commented only on that portion of the provincial Edict which figured in the Edict of the city praetor and was applicable to the whole Empire therefore. This would imply its incorporation into Julian's work. So also Sohm p. 86. Cf. Girard p. 55.

[6] Mommsen. Buckland (p. 12) regards such a general "Edictum provinciale" as possible, though uncertain. If each province still continued to have its own Edict, they all would be, as he says, "much alike".

cannot have amended the Code, and any small particular additions of their own must have been of the nature of the old "Edictum repentinum".[1] Every such pronouncement also would now be liable to appeal and the chance of reversal by a superior, an Imperial, court. This continued issue of annual Edicts, did it occur, did not affect the one main political result of the codification of the Perpetual Edict. By it the Emperor's control of all possible legislation, not only of Statute-law, but also of "Equity" or "judge-made" law, was complete. Unless, to some very small extent, the "Answers of the jurisconsults" continued to supply a still independent source of law,[2] there could be no law-making in the Roman Empire henceforward without the sanction and approval of the Prince, either directly by his own "Constitutions" or indirectly by the unchallenged influence which he exercised over the Senate alike in its capacity of legislative authority and of High Court of Justice in certain cases. The Emperor as law-maker became finally omnipotent. It cannot be doubted that it was this political motive, as well as zeal for the simplification of law, and the new system of Circuit Judges in Italy, which dictated Hadrian's action in commanding the codification of the "Edictum perpetuum".

But the gain to the Imperial Power may seem indeed small in comparison to the profit reaped from the codification by one entire class of men, the doctors learned in the law. Never before had so great a stimulus been applied to their indefatigable activity. Never did lawyers so gallantly respond to the new call upon their laborious ingenuity. The new Code was but as the grain of mustard seed, whence sprang a towering tree of Roman Imperial law, or as the hidden leaven which enriched the food of generations of Roman legal writers and eminent jurisconsults. On codification legal science waxes fat and merry, whether it benefit the litigant or no.

The author of the Code himself devoted part of the leisure snatched from a busy official life to the writing of other legal works, of which the chief, his "Digesta," was completed in ninety books. Two learned lawyers, Paul and Marcellus, in later years in their turn wrote long commentaries upon the "Digesta". Paul added at least eighty books upon the original Code itself.

[1] On this question Moyle (Imp. Iustiniani Inst. Oxford, 1883, I, p. 43) takes the negative view, as opposed, e.g. to Krüger p. 123, whose evidence for the continuance of annual Edicts seems convincing. Greenidge points out that the Code itself would require annual publication, as changes might be made in it at any time by Imperial ordinance. Cf. also Poste ad Gai Institutiones I, 6; Roby p. clxvii; Girard p. 53; Buckland p. 12. For the "Edictum repentinum," see above. A citation from Hitzig p. 9, is irresistible: "Diese Privatrechtserzeugungsmachine wurde nun von Hadrian ausser Function gesetz". Here is the whole principle of the "Jus honorarium" summed up in one single word of only twenty-nine letters.

[2] See § 3 below.

The mysterious Gaius (born under Hadrian), whose short work, the "Institutes," is as familiar as its author is unknown (possibly he was Professor of Law at Troas [1]), published thirty books on the "Edictum provinciale" and two on the Edict of the Curule aediles. The inference is that these formed sections of Julian's Code. Ulpian, who shares with Papinian the throne of Roman law, wrote more than eighty books upon the Code, and from this Commentary of Ulpian nearly one-fifth of Justinian's own Digest is taken.[2] And of all this vast Law Library devoted to the codified Edict not one single book remains in its entirety to-day. Seed plot and harvest field, the greater part has perished, destroyed by the barbarians of intervening time. Unhappy the modern legal student who has to endure so great a loss.

§ 2. The Compiler of the Code

For the actual labour of the codification of the Edict Hadrian selected the jurist Lucius Octavius Cornelius Salvius Julianus Aemilianus. Impatient men, forgetful of his long devotion, have called him Salvius Julianus or even Julian simply.

Roman Africa could breed lawyers as well as fiery Christian theologians. This "summus auctor iuris scientiae" [3] was born at a small hamlet, Pupput by name, which lay near Hadrumetum (the modern Susa) on the sea coast south of Carthage. The youth came to Rome, there to study law under the most eminent jurist of the Flavian period, the learned Caius Octavius Tidius Tossianus Lucius Javolenus Priscus, then leader of the "Sabinian School" of Roman lawyers. The pupil was presently to succeed the master in this dignity.[4] And like his master also, whom Domitian had selected in A.D. 90 as first governor of the newly-formed province of Upper Germany,[5] the young lawyer filled honourably many posts in the highest Government service.

As quaestor, Julian by his "notable learning" so won Hadrian's regard that the Emperor paid to him (and to him only) twice the customary official salary. He became a member of Hadrian's Judicial Council,[6] and presently was chosen governor

[1] Mommsen. A short discussion of the "Gaiusfrage" ap. Buckland, "Roman Law," p. 29. "One writer, observing that he names three Eastern cities in a certain context (Dig. 50, 15, 7), assumes that he puts Troas first because he was born there and Berytus second because he taught there, an argument adequately dealt with by a French critic, who suggests that he no doubt put Dyrrachium last because he died there."

[2] Muirhead.

[3] Cod. Just. 3, 33, 15; cf. ib. 4, 5, 10, 1. Our knowledge of Julian is due mainly to an inscription found in July, 1899, at Sidi-el-Abiod, the ancient Pupput, a "vicus" of Hadrumetum. This adds much to the information, e.g. given by Klebs, Prosop. Imp. Rom. IV, pp. 164-165. Cf. Mommsen's article "Salvius Julianus," reprinted in his Ges. Schr. II, pp. 1-6, from the Savigny-Stiftung Zeitung for 1902.

[4] Dig. XL, 2, 5; I, 2, 2, 53. For the "Sabinian School," see next section.

[5] C.I.L. III, 9960.

[6] For this Council, see above, p. 68.

of Lower Germany by Antoninus Pius, and then, in succession, of Hither Spain and of Africa by Marcus Aurelius. Julian himself states that he enjoyed the personal friendship of the philosopher Emperor.[1] He was consul in A.D. 148,[2] and probably again for the second time in A.D. 162.[3] In spite of ill health [4] he lived to a ripe old age, dying about the year A.D. 169. He was buried in the family tomb by the fifth milestone on the Via Labicana.[5] His son was consul after him. His grandson enjoyed a greater and more fatal distinction, becoming the Roman Emperor Didius Julianus, who was deposed and murdered in A.D. 193 after but a few months' precarious rule.

It remains one of the minor marvels of the Roman Empire that so busy a public servant as Julian could find the time for those legal studies and writings which won him then, and secured to him for all after ages, his undying reputation. He was truly a man with a passion for learning. He took with him in his train to Germany a Greek philosopher.[6] But philosophy can but have been the plaything of his lighter moments, a passing relief from the labours of administration and from the engrossing joys of the study of the law.

It seems to have been in his quaestorship that he first set to work upon his codification of the Edict, thus justifying his double salary.[7] The Code, which justly earned the popular title of the "Edictum Julianum," [8] was probably finished some time before A.D. 129.[9] After all, it was but "a little book," as Justinian called it.[10] Into it he modestly introduced one small innovation of his own.[11] The rest of the leisure allowed to him by his official career was devoted to the compilation of his ninety books of "Digesta" and of other less considerable works. Six books "Ad Minicium," four books "Ad Urseium Ferocem," seem but child's play in comparison. His authority carried weight for centuries to come. Emperors cite him in their "Constitutions," [12] and

[1] Dig. XXXVII, 14, 17.

[2] C.I.L. VI, 375: at a rather late age for so eminent a man.

[3] Spartianus, Vit. Did. Jul. I, but doubted by Mommsen.

[4] Fronto, ed. Naber, pp. 59, 60.

[5] Spartianus, Vit. Did. Jul. 8, 10.

[6] Suidas sub voc. Δαμόφιλος. Cf. Dessau, Inscr. Lat. sel. 7776.

[7] This is made likely by the Sidi-el-Abiod inscription. Before its discovery the work was naturally assigned in its inception to his praetorship (as by Gibbon). Cf. Girard p. 53.

[8] Its stricter title might be the "Edictum Hadrianum". Cf. Krüger p. 123.

[9] S. Jerome, Chron., dates it A.D. 131-132. But as Book VI of Julian's own commentary on it, the "Digesta," must be earlier than the S. C. Juventianum of A.D. 129, we must allow the saint a margin of chronological error. Cf. Krüger pp. 116 and 224.

[10] Const. "Tanta" § 18. But then the "Digesta" had survived to Justinian's day.

[11] According to Marcellus, ap. Dig. XXXVII, 8, 3. Cf. Krüger p. 122. For a technical description of the probable contents and arrangement of topics of the codified Edict, cf. Krüger pp. 118-120; Muirhead p. 291; Girard p. 55.

[12] Leo and Anthemius (Cod. 6, Tit. 61, c. 5); Justinian (Cod. 4, Tit. 5, 10).

Justinian's own Digest contains more than a thousand extracts [1] from Julian's many writings. "No other jurist exercised so great an influence on the destinies of the law. . . . He seems to have played somewhat the part which Lord Mansfield did in English law." [2]

Julian is one of the chief glories of Hadrian's reign. And this remarkable jurist, thus, in Gibbon's words, "immortalized," was no sour pedant or mere professor or recluse. He was a practical man of the world, an eminent public servant who held the governorship of three Roman provinces in succession. Not even Roman history can supply any more striking precedent to British practice for the employment of distinguished lawyers in the highest offices of State. A Viceroy of India may find his prototype in a Javolenus Priscus or a Salvius Julianus. It is pleasing to know that it can hardly have been any other cause than Julian's renown which won presently from Marcus Aurelius or from Commodus his son the dignity of colonial rank for the small African village where the jurist had been born.

NOTE

Select Modern Bibliography for Julian and the Codification of the "Edictum Perpetuum"

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[1] 452 (or 456) by name; some 620 besides where the actual work is not named (Roby).
[2] Buckland, "Roman Law," pp. 30-31.

§ 3. The Emperor and the Jurisconsults

"The praetorian law was finished. The time was come for a fresh power to enter on the scene. This power was Roman Scientific Jurisprudence." [1]

There had quietly come into being a second source of Roman law supplementary to Statute-law. This was constituted by the "Responsa prudentium," "Counsel's," or, more accurately, "Jurisconsult's" Opinion. Many hundreds of these pronouncements were incorporated into Justinian's Digest and thus became established law for the Empire. In this, as in other ways, the services of the great Roman lawyers and writers on jurisprudence to the development of Roman law are inestimable. To this day, "where a Civil lawyer is, there the traditions of the Roman Empire can never be wholly extinguished".[2]

It is a far cry back however, one of four centuries, from Justinian to Hadrian.[3] It has been maintained that the earlier Emperor did much to increase and to stabilize the work of the jurisconsults as a fresh source of law. As this source was independent of Imperial influence, it is not in itself probable that Hadrian, who had destroyed such independence for the future so far as praetorian law had hitherto enjoyed it, should choose to stimulate it in a rival, if a wiser, law-making authority. Close scrutiny, indeed, of the evidence reveals exaggeration in this view.

It was first under the early Empire that this actual law-making power of the jurisconsults began to be apparent. The truly great lawyers and advocates of the century preceding Augustus, men like Antonius and Cicero himself, were frequently consulted by anxious clients. But their considered opinions upon the points submitted to them had in no sense any binding legal force. Then, thanks to the first Emperor, Augustus, there came the beginning of a change. To it a contemporary of Salvius Julianus under Hadrian, himself a jurist of repute, one Sextus Pomponius, bears witness as follows:

"Before the time of Augustus, the right of giving answers publicly [4] was not granted by the princes,[5] but men of established reputation in their subject gave answers to those who consulted them. These 'responses' were not given under seal, but for the most part they wrote personal letters to the judges or appeared as witnesses on their clients' behalf.

"Divine Augustus, to increase the authority of Legal Science,

[1] Sohm, op. cit., p 87. [2] Mark Pattison, "Isaac Casaubon," p. 84.

[3] Date of Justinian's Digest, A.D. 530-533.

[4] Publice respondendi jus = ex auctoritate principis respondere (Karlowa, Rechtsgeschichte I, p. 659).

[5] This is very clumsy, as there were no "princes" at all before Augustus (unless Julius Caesar were so counted)—but the meaning is plain.

was the first to ordain that 'answers' might be given under his own authorization. From that time men began to request the granting of this privilege." [1]

It was then the first and the most sagacious of Roman Emperors who, according to this very clear statement by Pomponius, bestowed a very special privilege upon selected Counsel, known as the "Jus respondendi publice". He created in fact a muster-roll of "Patented jurisconsults," [2] or "jurisconsultes diplômés," [3] as they have been called. These, and these only, had the right to give official authoritative "answers". Such an "answer," when formally "sealed" [4] and presented in Court, the judge was bound to accept as final and to give his decision accordingly.[5] Obviously these "answers" concerned points of law and not questions of fact.

There still remained nothing to prevent any jurisconsult whose name was not on the "selected list" from continuing to give "answers" to any who chose to apply to him. His inferiority however to his more fortunate legal brethren who ranked as "patented" was painfully clear. No wonder that the grant of the "diploma" by the Emperor, to whom alone the right belonged, was keenly valued by the Roman jurisconsults, and the competition for a "place on the roll" must have been lively. It is improbable that such a list was of any fixed number. There is no information on this point. But it is very certain that from the first the Emperor imposed upon himself such rules for the bestowal of the privilege as should enhance and emphasize its value.

The distinction was at first conferred only upon men of the highest Senatorial rank, the "consulars". It was a very exceptional mark of Imperial favour when the second Emperor, Tiberius, bestowed it upon one of mere "equestrian" status. This however was Caius Masurius Sabinus himself, who gave his name to one of the two great rival schools of Roman civil lawyers. The "Sabinians" must have vaunted themselves indeed over the "Proculians" on this occasion.[6] But still entrance into this

[1] Dig. I, 2, 2, 48. [2] Greenidge, op. cit. [3] Girard, op. cit., p. 70.

[4] There is a doubt whether this "seal" was just a guarantee of authenticity, or whether it closed the written document and thus prevented falsification. Probably it served both purposes. Cf. Girard p. 69.

[5] "Judici recedere a responso non licet": Justinian, Inst. I, 2, 8. For another view, however, that there was no *binding* force in the Responsa of even the patented jurists until Hadrian, see Buckland's discussion of the whole question ("Text Book of Roman Law," pp. 23-25).

[6] Mommsen's reading and interpretation of Dig. I, 2, 2, 48, is clearly preferable to the alternative views of Muirhead ("Roman Law," 2nd ed., p. 292) and Goudy (note to Muirhead ad loc.).

No modern ingenuity seems yet to have discovered with the least certainty what was actually the distinction in the difference between the Sabinian and Proculian Schools. Probably the nearer they were together, the more they hated each the other. The distinction, whatever it was, seems to vanish after the time of Hadrian, and the two Schools disappear after Gaius. There may have been no difference of principle at all. Cf. Buckland, "Roman Law," pp. 27-28.

privileged class of jurisconsults was jealously guarded. Then Hadrian comes upon the scene.

Men of " praetorian " rank were but one grade beneath the " consulars ". They had been praetors. Every important post (save one or two only) in the Senatorial career was open to them. As praetors they had discharged high judicial functions. Only the consulship remained as the crowning achievement of their official lives. Yet they were excluded from the muster-roll of patented jurisconsults. They petitioned Hadrian to redress this grievance.

The Emperor was polite in his reply rather than sympathetic. " He had no kind of objection," he said, " to jurisconsults of praetorian rank ' giving answers,' if they had confidence in their own capacity." [1] But this was no promise to put any of them upon the laureate roll, neither did he open the gates of privilege to the " praetorian " class by any general pronouncement. The prize was still one of Imperial favour only, and, so far as is known, exclusion of any but consulars remained the Imperial practice. It was not in this respect that the jurisconsults made any acquisition of new law-making powers under Hadrian.

There remains one passage concerning Hadrian and the jurisconsults, the implications from which are a matter of sore dispute. It occurs in the brief manual of Roman law written by Gaius, the professor, for his students about the year A.D. 161, and runs as follows :

" The answers of jurists are the decisions and opinions of persons authorized to lay down the law.[2] If they are unanimous, their decision has the force of law ; if they disagree, the judge may follow whichever opinion he chooses, as is ruled by a rescript of the late Emperor Hadrian." [3]

That Hadrian created a General Legal Council of " patented " jurists with intent to develop its extensive law-making powers is a theory which can hardly be built with confidence upon the meagre foundation of this solitary sentence. Obscure and worrying indeed the professor's dictum undoubtedly is. But a General Legal Council presents remarkable difficulties. Who convoked it ? When did it meet ? How could this unanimous opinion be obtained ? Why is it never heard of again ? If composed of all " jurisconsultes diplômés," could so numerous and so learned a body be compelled to listen to appeals by any and every petty client ?

To surrender the magnificent conception of such a Legal Council, to deprive the imaginative vision of its picture of a

[1] This again is the statement of Pomponius ap. Dig. I, 2, 2, 48. Buckland, op. cit., p. 24, note 3, calls Hadrian's reply " a little jest of his : he was partial to jests ".

[2] " Quibus permissum est iura condere." [3] Gaius, Inst. I, 7 ; trans. Poste.

meeting of the Conclave, such indeed is a grievous consequence of doubt. Yet there is a simpler explanation of the passage, which sees that Hadrian is just making provision against a difficulty in the Augustan system of "patented" jurists. The opinion of such an one bound the judge. But what if the parties to a suit produced two such opinions, contradictory the one to the other? In this case, ruled Hadrian, the judge has his old pre-Augustan right of unfettered decision once more.[1]

Here then is no "important change"[2] introduced by the Emperor, but a mere common-sense corollary to the institution by Augustus of the "patented" jurisconsults. Hadrian has not increased their law-making powers a whit. The puzzle remains how a harassed judge, confronted by two contradictory and equally indisputable "opinions," came to his decision during the entire century from Augustus to Hadrian. But if choice must be made between this insoluble riddle and the General Legal Council, it is preferable to conclude that the Emperors from Augustus himself down to Trajan did not worry further about the matter, or placed reliance upon the discretion of a Roman judge who found himself in so delicate and embarrassing a situation. It is in every way characteristic of Hadrian to decide pontifically on legal difficulties left undetermined by his Imperial predecessors. It is certainly as alien from that policy of his which is expressed in his codification of the praetorian Edict to suppose that he encouraged, by his attitude to the "patented" jurisconsults, any rival source of law in the Roman Empire which might prove independent of the Emperor.[3]

[1] Buckland, "Roman Law," p. 24, however, says reasonably that "it is surprising that so obvious a point should not have called for settlement for more than a century". For his view, see op. cit., pp. 23-25.

[2] Bury p. 512.

[3] On this question, cf. Girard, op. cit., pp. 69-70; Greenidge, op. cit., § 18; Poste, ad loc., p. 10, who thinks that "*all* authorized jurists had to be consulted"; Muirhead, "Roman Private Law," pp. 292-293—to the like effect; Krüger, op. cit., pp. 147-153, who remarks "all the jurists consulted in a particular case"; Karlowa, Rechtsgeschichte, I, 161; Sohm, op. cit., pp. 92-93, who gives a very strained and unlikely interpretation of the Gaius passage; E. C. Clark, "History of Roman Private Law," 1914, II, pp. 373-376, who thinks that the unanimous opinion of existing licensed prudentes obtained on a point of law in an actual case was to serve henceforth as equivalent to a statute, "to be settled law for the future" Buckland, "Text Book of Roman Law," 1921, pp. 23-26, who confines the application of the Responsum to the actual case. I suspect that the ingenuity of the modern Roman lawyer has created a very considerable mountain out of the ancient professor's very humble molehill. In this section I have sought to reduce the mountain to a hill, but I have been unable to level it altogether.

My colleague, Mr. G. C. Cheshire, writes to me: "There have of course been raging conflicts over the question of the limits of Hadrian's authorisation. The commonest view seems to be that it only extended to the actual case for which the Responsum was obtained, though the language of Gaius seems to suggest a wider scope. Some hold that Responsa are binding in future cases, and some that even the writings of patented jurists were binding, though it seems difficult to believe that mere theoretical writings could have any effect on concrete cases. Such is the view of Buckland." That however the "*dicta*" in a treatise or text-book were admitted on an equal footing with the

§ 4. Hadrian's Own Legislation

Hadrian's Imperial predecessors seem on the whole to have disliked direct legislation by way of the issue of "Constitutiones Principis". The bulk of their measures took the shape of Decrees of the Senate. Hadrian himself felt no such constitutional scruples. It was his authority which should remedy any defect found in the newly codified praetorian Edict.[1] From his reign onwards, Imperial rescripts on points of law multiply unceasingly.[2]

Of Hadrian's own legislation very considerable fragments are still preserved, many of them embedded firmly in Justinian's Digest, that great preservative of a thousand years of Roman law.[3] A great number of these concern technical questions of Roman Private Law, such as inheritance and bequest,[4] the law of evidence,[5] sureties,[6] and other intricate subjects. Hadrian's rescripts concerning these must be left to the appreciative enthusiasm of the professional student.

But there are other pronouncements and laws which deal with matters of a broader and more general interest, with serious offences against the individual or the State, with the classes and common details of daily life, with matters which come quite closely home to modern men and women. Such deserve a wider remembrance.

In the penalties for homicide there was a careful differentiation according to the circumstances of each case: "In maleficiis voluntas spectatur, non exitus,"—"In crime intention counts, not consequences"[7]: this is a noteworthy principle of law approved by Hadrian, though as thus baldly stated "it is as misleading as most maxims are".[8] This however is not the place to discuss its value and meaning.

"Cases of treason," writes his biographer simply, "he refused to allow".[9] When, in punishment for other crimes, men were banished, their whole estate was forfeit to the Crown. Hadrian however allowed the children to retain one-twelfth of it. And on

"*responsa*" proper may have been a much later development, "a still further deviation from the original intention of Hadrian" (Clark, op. cit., II, p. 375).

[1] See above, § 1, p. 195. [2] Cf. Girard, p. 56.

[3] These are collected conveniently in G. Haenel's useful work: "Corpus legum ab imperatoribus Romanis ante Iustinianum latarum" (Leipzig), 1857, pp. 85-101. Hardly any of Hadrian's legislation can be dated to any particular year. Though treated here as a whole, for convenience' sake, it obviously was spread over all the twenty-one years of his reign.

[4] Gaius, Inst. I, 115A; II, 57, 112, 113; Dig. V, 3, 20; Justinian, Inst. II, 10, 7.

[5] Dig. XXII, 5, 1-6. [6] Gaius, Inst. III, 121; Justinian, Inst. III, 20, 4.

[7] Dig. XLVIII, 8, 1, 3, 4, 14. Cf. an unpleasant case ap. Dig. XLVIII, 9, 5, where patria potestas is not admitted as a defence in a case of homicide: "quod latronis magis quam patris iure eum interfecit".

[8] G. C. Cheshire. [9] *Vita* 18, 4.

one occasion at least, when the family was a large one, he handed over the whole of the guilty father's goods for division among the children. "I prefer to see the State increase in men rather than in money," wrote the Emperor.[1] Hadrian the childless had a soft place in his heart for children. Hence came his generosity in the matter of accepting or refusing legacies left to the Emperor. Under a Nero or a Domitian, if men failed thus to bequeath at least a part, their children might lose the whole. But Hadrian refused outright the bequests both of strangers and of friends if the latter left sons behind them.[2]

In minor matters he was also generous. His law concerning treasure-trove was more kind to the lucky finder than is modern English law. It was elaborate. If a man, he decided, found treasure on his own land, natural equity gave it to him. If he found it by chance on another man's property, the two must divide it equally. If he found it in like manner on State property, the State, on similar principles, claimed its half. But if A found treasure on B's land otherwise than by chance, B had the right to the whole of it.[3]

To remove a neighbour's landmark surreptitiously was a serious offence if the wrongdoer were a wealthy man. "No doubt he does it to get possession of the land." The penalty was banishment, and the younger the criminal the longer was to be the exile. If, however, a man removed a boundary stone acting under some other man's orders, he was sentenced to a flogging and to two years' "employment on public works" instead. If a man displaced a landmark "in ignorance or by chance," he escaped with a flogging only.[4]

Banishment was also the penalty for false weights and measures.[5]

No mercy was shown to those who plundered the shipwrecked, whose complaints received a ready hearing. The owner of a strip of coast on which a ship was driven ashore had no claim to any of the débris salved from the wreck.[6] Merchant ships chartered for the City corn trade were exempt from all taxation.[7]

Details of town-life interested Hadrian. "He disciplined the citizens as he did the troops," writes the biographer.[8] No one might drive a heavily-loaded waggon through the streets of Rome.[9] No one might go to the public baths before 2 P.M. "unless he were ill".[10] Mixed bathing Hadrian entirely prohibited, as did Marcus Aurelius after him.[11] In the same conservative spirit he

[1] *Vita* 18, 3. Cf. Haenel, op. cit., p. 100; Dio 69, 23, 3. [2] *Vita* 18, 5.
[3] Justinian, Inst. II, 1, 39—summarized too briefly in *Vita*, 18, 6.
[4] Dig. XLVII, 21, 2. [5] Dig. XLVIII, 10, 32. [6] Dig. XLVII, 9, 7.
[7] Dig. L, 6, 6, 5. [8] *Vita* 22, 1. [9] *Vita* 22, 6.
[10] *Vita* 22, 7. [11] *Vita* 18, 10; Dio 69, 8, 2. Cf. Vit. Marci, 23, 8.

enforced by precept and by example the wearing by Senators and Knights of the heavy and unpopular Roman toga, when they were abroad in the streets. He allowed one exception. The gown need not be worn by those " returning from a dinner party ".[1] A famous rhetorician of the day, one Titus Castricius, once lectured his pupils upon " the proper costume for Senators walking about Rome ".[2] This may well have been a " Command " lecture, for the Emperor approved highly.

There were regulations concerning Housing and a careful organization of Rome's local government. If the owner of a house let it fall into a bad state, he must sell it if he would not repair it.[3] Each of the fourteen districts—" Regiones "—of Rome comprised a considerable number of parishes—" Vici ". Every parish had four overseers—" Magistri "—and every district was placed in charge of a " curator," now a freedman, who had a crier—" denuntiator "—to help him. The whole system was under the general supervision of the Chief Commissioner of Police—the " praefectus vigilum ".[4]

Then there arose problems consequent upon marriage. Hadrian was asked to decide whether a child born in the eleventh month after the father's death could be legitimate. He published a decree affirming this, saying that he had consulted the opinion on the subject of " philosophers of ancient times and of medical men ".[5] In the case of mixed marriages, the rule was that children should be of their mother's status. This Hadrian approved, even when the father was a slave and the mother a citizen.[6] Female criminals were not to be punished during their pregnancy.[7]

Hadrian's interest in the welfare of the army is reflected in his legislation.[8] Since the days of Augustus a soldier on active service had been allowed to acquire property of his own—the " peculium castrense " even during his father's lifetime, and, so long as he was still in the army, to dispose of this by will. Hadrian now extended this privilege to veterans who had received their discharge.[9] Other special concessions were granted by him to soldiers in respect of inheritances and wills.[10] But " even a soldier's " will might be " void of uncertainty ".[11] An interesting rescript dealt with the validity of soldiers' wills in cases of suicide. If a soldier slew himself " doloris impatientia vel taedio vitae,"

[1] *Vita* 22, 2, 3. Stuart Jones compares the toga to the English frock-coat (" Companion to Roman History," p. 327).

[2] Gellius, N.A. XIII, 22, 1. [3] Bull. Corr. Hellen. XI, 1887, p. 111.

[4] Cf. C.I.L. VI, 975. The number of vici in a regio varied, e.g. twenty-four in Regio X, eighty-eight in Regio XIV.

[5] Gellius, N.A. III, 16, 12. This recalls a recent decision by the late Lord Chancellor.

[6] Gaius I, 30, 81, 84. [7] Dig. I, 5, 18. [8] See above, Chapter XI, § 1.

[9] Justinian, Inst. II, 12. Cf. Girard p. 143.

[10] Justinian, Inst. II, 19, 6. Cf. Haenel p. 96. [11] Justinian, Inst. II, 20, 25.

his will was valid. But if he committed suicide to escape the consequences of some military offence, his will did not hold good. The legion inherited the property of any of its soldiers who died intestate, leaving no heirs.[1]

Every Roman Emperor's attitude to slavery is closely scrutinized, often with unduly hostile eyes by those who would claim for early Christianity more in this respect than is its due. From this ordeal Hadrian emerges with some credit. The Emperor, it is true, was not, either in principle or in practice, a critic of established law and custom regarding slavery. He did not challenge the master's absolute rights over the slave.[2] His biographer indeed asserts that he deprived a master of the power to put a slave to death, and required always a trial before judges. But this seems an incorrect statement.[3] He expected a slave always "to prefer his master's safety to his own".[4] But he strove to secure good treatment for the slave.

Probably no feature of "Ancient Slavery" has incurred greater condemnation than the rule requiring slave-evidence to be given always under torture. This horrible practice was not one of which the callous Roman alone was guilty. It forms part of that "legacy of Greece" which as a whole the modern Hellenist so incessantly belauds. It is convenient to forget or to pass hurriedly over certain characteristics of ancient Athenian as well as of ancient Roman social life, of which the modern sentimentalist dislikes to be reminded.

This rule of the torture of slaves under evidence held good at Rome for many centuries. It was not reserved for Hadrian the humanitarian to abolish it. By such an abolition the foundations of society might seem shaken. But the Emperor did positively enact that the slave was to be tortured for evidence only in the last resort and under the very strictest regulations. No one has in truth written more lucidly on the general worthlessness of evidence obtained by such methods than has Hadrian. His warnings were forgotten through following centuries of less humane civilization by Christian inquisitors both ecclesiastical and lay. "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum." "Enquiry by torture," wrote the pagan Emperor, "is a thing fragile and dangerous and cheats the truth". "Res fragilis et periculosa et quae veritatem fallat."[5] Would either a Torquemada or a Calvin have assented to this? But then Hadrian had one great advantage over such tormentors. He was not hampered by a belief that the victim had a soul to be saved.

[1] Dig. XXIX, 1, 34; cf. ib. XXVIII, 3, 7.
[2] Cf. Dio 69, 16, 3.
[3] *Vita* 18, 7, seems irreconcilable with Gaius, Inst. I, 8, 2. Cf. Mommsen, Strafrecht, p. 617, note 2.
[4] Dig. XXIX, 5, 1, 28.
[5] Dig. XLVIII, 18, 23.

The Emperor published at least four rescripts on this subject.[1] Other such Imperial ordinances forbade the mutilation of slaves, as also their sale for certain bestial objects " without good cause ".[2] A Roman dame, by name Umbricia, was banished for five years because " she had treated her slave girls most atrociously for the most trivial reasons ".[3] And one last instance of Hadrian's instinct of mercy to slaves recalls a woeful episode of the reign of Nero. There was an old savage rule whereby, if a master were murdered at home, the whole of his slave household was to be executed. The enforcement of this rule by Nero had shocked Roman sentiment even under that distracted Prince. Hadrian now dealt with the matter. In such a case, he commanded, " enquiry " (i.e. by torture) was to be made only of those slaves who were near enough to the scene of crime to be able to know anything about it.[4] If the preliminary investigation were thus limited in scope, it can hardly be that the last penalty could still be imposed on all the household.

Less remote from modern European civilization[5] seems a valiant rescript of the Emperor to the good folk of Nicomedia. " When your Town Council," he wrote, " has once come to a decision, it is not to rescind this." Those who have served for any length of time upon public bodies in days when economy, efficiency, and sentiment wage unceasing war one upon another may well be amazed at Hadrian's audacity. Such, alas!, may read on and be reassured. " Except," added the Emperor, " for reason shown." " That is," comments the lawyer, " for some reason of public utility." The floodgates are open once more for any and every " proposal for reconsideration ".[6]

Several tales remain of Hadrian in the judgment-seat. One such now may illustrate further his canny caution:

" A certain man complained to Hadrian that though his freedmen kept shops and made a good business out of them at his expense, yet they paid over to him not one single penny of the profits.

" Their lawyer, however, denied this, urging that they all paid their rent most regularly and would continue to pay it so long as they were allowed to continue their trading.

" The Emperor answered: ' Let them take care that he has no grounds for bringing such complaints again. But he himself must show a trifle of common sense in the matter.' "

Upon which judgment both parties must have withdrawn equally satisfied or dissatisfied—as the case may be.

[1] Dig. XLVIII, 18, 1, 2, 5, 21-24. [2] Ib. 8, 4, 2. *Vita* 18, 8.
[3] Dig. I, 6, 2
[4] *Vita* 18, 11. For the case of Pedanius Secundus, A.D. 61, when 400 slaves were haled off to execution together, see my " Life of Nero," pp. 90-94.
[5] Excluding Russia. [6] Dig. L, 9, 5.

CHAPTER XIII

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

§ 1. Unrest in Palestine.
§ 2. The Jewish rebellion.
§ 3. Hadrian's attitude to Christianity.
§ 4. The " letter to Servianus ".
Note A. Hadrian's presence at the Jewish War.
Note B. The authenticity of the letter to Servianus.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. Unrest in Palestine

THE Palestinian Jew during the century following the Crucifixion was not consistently the peaceful hardworking agriculturalist who is the dream, or the apology, of the modern Zionist. His Greek neighbour, both in Judaea itself and in the lands of the Dispersion, had cause to appreciate the ferocity which lay beneath the surface of the other's sullen acquiescence in government by the Gentile.

In the earliest days of their association together, indeed, the Roman seemed to the Jew a champion of oppressed nationalities, his deliverer, and sympathetically good-tempered. But those days had long since passed away. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus set the seal to a hate which the Jew cherished in secret with a pertinacity which, under the circumstances, is not altogether surprising. Like the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Seleucid, the Roman had become but a tyrant and an oppressor. But should the fourth kingdom be any more permanent than the others which had perished everlastingly? The Jewish law, and with it those pathetic and undying Messianic hopes, were preserved in the Schools at Jamnia, Lydda, and Tiberias. And men still cherished eagerly in their hearts dreams for the restoration of the ruined city and of the national monarchy at Jerusalem. Was Jehovah once again to play His chosen people false?

As has been seen, this Jewish sentiment had burst out into a flame with a fierceness scarcely credible at the end of Trajan's reign among the Jews of the Dispersion, taking advantage of that Emperor's embarrassments in his far Eastern wars. Roman generals had then suppressed the risings in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene, with grim completeness. Rebels and rioters, overwhelmed, had sunk back into their former state of passive animosity.

The native inhabitants of Palestine itself had taken little, if any, share in these troubles. Yet none could doubt that this land was the core of the deep-rooted cancer of disaffection. When therefore Hadrian, upon his return to Rome from Egypt in A.D. 131, promulgated the two measures which, of all in his power,

were quite the most provocative, he applied a surgical treatment which was at least a curious choice for a peace-loving Prince.

Concerning the first of these measures, indeed, there exists much uncertainty. He is said to have published a general Edict prohibiting circumcision. This, though not directed exclusively against Jews, obviously dealt this people the hardest blow. As obviously, it could not be enforced. The date of this supposed Edict is not beyond doubt. Its very existence has been questioned, so inconsistent does it seem to be with the Emperor's practical sagacity. It is rash to make it the determining factor of the Jewish rebellion which broke out in A.D. 132. Such a prohibition may well have been an idea presenting itself to Hadrian's mind, an aftermath of the disturbances of A.D. 117-118. It may have been no more than this.[1]

Of the second measure there is no such doubt. It was this which was the direct cause of the rebellion. The orders which Hadrian issued on his journey to Egypt in A.D. 130 for the refounding of Jerusalem as a Roman colony and for the building of a Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus upon the desolated site of Jehovah's sacred precinct, the result of a personal visit to the ruined city,[2] kindled a fire in Palestine which was not easily put out. Not even Caligula in all his madness could have devised a provocation more sure of its result. No Roman statesman, it might with equal truth be urged, could have conceived a surer method of driving the lesson home that, while Rome ruled, Jewish nationality should be for ever a vanished, an impossible, dream. Later Jewish apologists told a foolish tale, one of many with which such must be credited. The Roman Emperor, said they, had promised to restore the worship of Jehovah, and later, treacherously or weakly, broke his word. This is as unlikely a story as is that of the Jewish boasters who asserted that during the whole of the war Hadrian had lived in a state of panick terror. But, whether he acted in half ignorance or with his eyes fully open to the probable consequences, the Roman who gave the order to replace Jehovah by Jupiter, and Jerusalem by Aelia Capitolina, provoked thereby a final and desperate rebellion in Palestine. How else could the God of the Jews ever "return to His desecrated altars"?[3] At least, although their brethren of the Dispersion had struck their blow too soon and now lay too exhausted and prostrate to give any great aid, the local worshippers would essay one fierce attempt in His name. "O Lord God," cried the rebel Jewish leader in

[1] The direct evidence for this Edict is *Vita* 14, 2, and connects it with Hadrian's journey in the East. This is not worth much. Still, if Pius did withdraw it (Dig. XLVIII, 8, 11) it must have been in existence.

[2] See above, p. 129. Dürr's opinion that Aelia Capitolina was founded in A.D. 117 (p. 16) has nothing to be said for it. Cf. P.-W.

[3] Schiller.

fine frenzy, " if Thou wilt not help us, at the least give not Thine aid to our adversaries, and we shall not be defeated."

For a few months the Jews stayed quiet, until Hadrian had returned to Rome. Then, when Tineius Rufus was governor of Judaea and Publicius Marcellus governor of Syria, when the planning of the new city was begun and the very houses, it may be, were in building, when the whole Roman world, and in it their own land, were wrapt in calm, they rose.[1]

§ 2. The Jewish Rebellion

The third century chronicler gives us the only account of the Jewish Rebellion against Rome in the years A.D. 132-135 which is of any great value. Christian writers repeated and embroidered the tale. Their interest lay in emphasizing the vengeful ferocity of the Jews against the Christians in Palestine, when the latter refused, as they did refuse, to take any part in the rising, that is " to blaspheme Christ ".[2] And in the issue of the struggle these same writers saw, not without satisfaction, the fulfilment of the sorrowful prophecies of their Lord and Master. By this time the confident eschatological expectations which the early Church had held concerning His second advent had proved hopelessly fallacious. But at least part of His words had been verified, and of Jerusalem, the city of His passion, in very truth not one stone was left upon another.[3] On the rival side, Rabbinical patriotism expanded and glorified the story of the revolt into a mass of incredible legends, in which Jewish heroes and martyrs contended with undaunted courage against Roman fiends in human shape. In the search for fact, very little can be added to the account given by Dio Cassius except something concerning the troops on the Roman, and the personalities on both sides. Far less in detail is known about this rebellion than about the earlier rising of the Jews at the end of Nero's reign.

[1] Ancient evidence for the rebellion: Dio 69, 12-14 (see next section); *Vita* 14, 2; Appian Syr. 50; Orosius VII, 13, 4-5; Justin, Apol. 31, 6; Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. IV, 6; ib. Chron. (with the Armenian version and S. Jerome), ed. Schoene, II = Georg. Sync. 659-661. This, a somewhat petty if troublesome rising in Roman eyes, is turned into a story of the most amazing length by modern writers. The best account, and the briefest, is in P.-W. On the larger scale are E. Schürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi (Leipzig), 1890, I, 562-589 = English trans. I, 2, § 21—with an enormous bibliography; H. Graetz, "History of the Jews" (Eng. trans.) (London), 1891, XV, XVI. Cf. also Schiller, pp. 611-615; Renan, L'église Chrét. App. I. Frazer ap. " Pausanias," I, 5, 5; Vol. II, pp. 80-81, repeats Dio and Orosius. Bury adds nothing. Lightfoot (Apost. Fathers II, 1, p. 453) is suggestive concerning the effect of the struggle in embittering Jewish-Christian relations.

[2] Justin, Apol. 31, 6: valuable as nearly contemporary evidence.

[3] Eusebius, Chron. = Georg. Sync. 661. Cf. S. Jerome: " Dei nutu sicut profetae vaticinati sunt ".

Dio's story is as follows :—

" At Jerusalem Hadrian founded a city in place of that which had been razed to the ground, and he called it Aelia Capitolina. And where the temple of the God had been he erected another temple to Zeus.

" For this reason a war was kindled, and that no small one nor short lived. For the Jews, being sore angered that aliens should be settled in their own city, and that foreign rites should be established in it, kept quiet indeed so long as Hadrian was in Egypt and again in Syria, except in so far as they of design wrought less fitly the weapons commanded of them by the Romans, being themselves denied by the Romans leave to carry arms. But when Hadrian was far away, they rebelled openly.

" Now they dared not face the Romans in pitched battle. But, seizing suitable places throughout their land, they fortified these with underground passages and walls, as places of refuge into which to flee when they were hard pressed and to have secret intercourse with one another, and they pierced holes in these passages for air and light.

" At first the Romans held them of no account. But when now the whole of Judaea was disturbed, and the Jews everywhere in every land were likewise troubled and conspired with the rebels and wrought much hurt to the Romans both in secret and openly (many others also of alien folk joining with them for hope of gain), and the whole world, as it were, was moved thereat, then at last Hadrian sent against them his best generals, of whom Julius Severus was foremost in command, being called from Britain, of which he was governor.

" But Severus risked not giving open battle against the enemy in any place, seeing their numbers and their fury. Therefore, cutting them off piecemeal by flying columns of greater strength under commanders of lower rank, intercepting also and depriving them of supplies, he was able by this method, a slower one indeed, yet one less perilous, to wear them down and so to crush them utterly. Very few in fact survived. Of their forts the fifty strongest were razed to the ground. Nine hundred and eighty-five of their best-known villages were destroyed. Fifty-eight myriads of men were slaughtered in skirmish and in battle. Of those who perished by famine and disease there is no one can count the number.

" Thus the whole of Judaea became desert, as indeed had been foretold to the Jews before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, whom these folk celebrate in their sacred rites, fell of its own accord into fragments. And wolves and hyenas, many in number, roamed howling through their cities.

" Many also of the Romans were slain in the war.[1] Wherefore Hadrian, writing to the Senate, would not use the Emperor's wonted opening form of words, ' I and the Army are well ' " [2]

A little can be added to this account from sources which are regarded as comparatively trustworthy.

The insurgent's leaders were a certain " Simon, prince of Israel," a priest Eleazar, a Rabbi famous for his learning in the law, Akiba by name, and, chief among them, one Bar- or Ben-Kosiba, " the son, or man, of Kosiba," who may be identical with the Simon mentioned above. Rabbi Akiba, punning on his name, bestowed upon him a title symbolical of the Messianic hopes inspired by the rebellion, that of Bar-Cochba, " the son of a star," saying that he had risen like a star in Jacob. Tradition described him as a man of enormous bodily strength ; the Christian writer Eusebius, less sympathetic, calls him a brigand and a murderer.

The revolt broke out in A.D. 132. The governor of Judaea, Tineius Rufus, was quite unable to cope with it, and the duty, as always in cases of serious trouble among the Hebrews, devolved on the governor of Syria, then one Caius Publicius Marcellus. Marcellus marched to the rescue, leaving the commander of the Fourth (Scythian) legion, one Tiberius Severus,[3] behind him at Antioch to carry on the administration of the province in his own absence. It is uncertain whether or no Marcellus took this legion with him to the scene of war.[4] In the course of the war, which lasted well into A.D. 135, there took part in it troops belonging to the Third (Cyrenaic) [5] and Tenth (Fretensis) [6] legions, and, probably also or possibly, others from four legions besides, the Third (Gallic),[7] Tenth (Gemina),[8] Sixth (Ferrata) and Sixteenth (Flavia Firma).[9] Even the " Syrian fleet " was employed off the coast, though any thought of a " naval battle " is absurd.[10]

[1] This is confirmed by the earlier and almost contemporary account of Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 218.

[2] Dio 69, 12-14.

[3] Cf. C.I.G. 4033, 4034 ; cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. III, No. 374, 375. Later he was governor of Bithynia. He is by no means to be confused with the Julius Severus mentioned below.

[4] Not implied by C.I.G. 4033, and questioned by Schürer.

[5] C.I.L. X, 3783 ; XIV, 3610. [6] Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888, p. 424.

[7] So Pfitzner, Kaiserlegionen, p. 230. But the inscr. (Orelli 3571) showing T. Camulius Laurens decorated by Hadrian " on the vote of the legion " does not mention the Jewish war as cause.

[8] C.I.L. VI, 3505 : inscr. of S. Attius Senecio. Denied by Filow ap. Klio, Beiträge 1906, p. 69, note.

[9] Bury says that Leg. XXII (Deiotariana) was practically annihilated in the war. More probably Trajan had already abolished it. Cf. Hardy, "Studies," p. 226 sq.

[10] Sextus Cornelius Dexter, prefect of the Syrian fleet, received honours from Hadrian " ob bellum Judaicum " (C.I.L. VIII, 8934. found at Saldae in Mauretania). The Ostian inscriptions of P. Lucilius Gamala (C.I.L. XIV, 375, 376) do not prove a " naval battle ". Cf. also Mommsen ap. C.I.L. VI, 1565.

The earlier successes seemed to justify the rising. Jerusalem soon fell into the rebels' hands and remained in their possession for two years. They issued vainglorious coins, bearing such legends as " Emancipation of Israel," " Emancipation of Zion," " Liberation of Jerusalem," " Freedom of Israel," and the like. Marcellus failed to make any greater headway against the enemy than had Rufus.

At this crisis Hadrian himself quitted Rome and hastened to Antioch to review the situation close at hand. The chronicler's story of his letter to the Senate with its significant omission seems to imply that the Emperor in person commanded troops in the field against the insurgents.[1] But the guerrilla nature of the struggle, however ferocious the antagonists, was such that he was not inclined himself to direct operations until its close. He therefore sent to Britain to summon its governor, Sextus Minucius Faustinus Julius Severus,[2] to come and take over the supreme command. Upon the arrival of Severus with his Staff [3] Hadrian himself, late in A.D. 133 or early in A.D. 134, returned to Rome. The new general finished the work. Bether, S.W. of Jerusalem and N.W. of Bethlehem, the chief stronghold of the rebels, was captured after holding out stubbornly for a year, its garrison enduring extreme torments of hunger and thirst before the place fell. With its fall the rebellion, which had lasted three and a half years, came to an end.[4]

There followed Rome's terrible vengeance. No mercy was shown either to the rebel leaders who fell alive into the Romans' hands or to the bulk of the Jewish prisoners. Captives were sold in such large numbers at Hebron and at Gaza that a Jew slave cost as little as a horse, and at the latter city men talked of " Hadrian's Market " for centuries to come.[5] Many who were exported to Egypt perished on the voyage of starvation or by shipwreck.

The venerable Rabbi Akiba, " spiritual father of the rebellion," and more than worthy of his spiritual children, was, according to the unlikely if gruesome and Dantesque tradition, " torn to pieces

[1] Dio 69, 14, see above. On the vexed question of Hadrian's presence at the seat of war, see note at end of chapter.

[2] C.I.L. III, 2830 (found at Burnum in Dalmatia). There is a possible trace of Severus at Bowes, near Richmond in Yorkshire (C.I.L. VII, 275, as restored by Hübner).

[3] C.I.L. VI, 1523: M. Statius Priscus, prefect of Cohors IV Lingonum, rewarded for services " in expeditione Judaica ". The cohort was in Britain, A.D.103-146. Filow does not think the cohort came itself. For Priscus cf. also C.I.L. III, 940.

[4] The war began in A.D. 132 (Eusebius, Chron.). It lasted three and a half years (Jerome ap. Daniel 9). Fall of Bether in eighteenth year of Hadrian = 134-135 (Euseb. H.E. IV, 6); Hadrian is " Imperator II " on Dec. 19 or 29, 135 (C.I.L. XIV, 4235, as restored), and in 136 (C.I.L. VI, 975, 976)—though this is omitted in an inscr. of 136 by error (C.I.L. XIV, 2088); but *not* on Sept. 15, 134 (C.I.L. X, 7855). This salutation was due to the end of the war, and thus fits in well with S. Jerome's evidence.

[5] Chron. Pasch. I, 474.

with red-hot pincers ". So his compatriots averred. The " son of a star," the " cause of their folly " as the Christian Eusebius called him, " received a merited punishment " according to this same hostile authority. He was slain by a snake, said the Jews, and his head was brought to the Roman general.

More certain are the details of the punitive measures taken by the conquerors against the Jews as a whole. A heavier poll tax was levied on them.[1] They were forbidden even to set foot in Aelia Capitolina, except on one fixed day in each year. " They might look on the city but with their eyes afar off," writes Tertullian exultingly.[2] This ban was not extended to the Palestinian Christians,[3] and the Church at Jerusalem, now composed of the new Gentile settlers, presently received her first " Gentile " Bishop in the person of one Marcus. The very land changed its name. " Syria Palaestina " was now placed under the government of a consular legate, and garrisoned by two legions.

The new Roman colony on the site of Jerusalem could at last be built, and preserved its name, Aelia Capitolina, and its placid existence undisturbed for more than a century at least.[4] Though not given the highest privileges, the " Jus Italicum," [5] it rejoiced in buildings of some magnificence, a theatre, baths, and two temples. The temple of Jupiter occupied the site of the Jewish temple, and another, sacred to Venus, was built, said Christian tradition, over the sepulchre of Christ. Jerusalem came to its own again under Constantine, but the Jews were given but one more chance, and that a short-lived one, of wielding any influence in the city when, upon its capture by the Persians in A.D. 614, they are said to have massacred nearly a hundred thousand Christians there. Twenty years later, the Caliph Omar took the town, and, with the one brief interlude of Godfrey's rule, in Moslem hands it remained up to the twentieth century. If now the city is to become centre of the Jewish " national home," it resumes a rôle never played since the curtain fell on Jewish hopes nearly eighteen hundred years ago, time long enough for wisdom to be learnt in it.

Concerning the building of Aelia Capitolina a truly remarkable tale was told by the Cypriote Christian Bishop Epiphanius, disturber of the peace of the Church in Palestine in the latter half of the fourth century.[6] Hadrian, he declared, charged Aquila of Sinope with the task, and when the Christians returned there from Pella, their miracles so impressed Aquila that he became a

[1] Appian, Syr. 50.
[2] Adv. Jud. 13. Eusebius, H.E. IV, 6, 3, on this quotes the Christian, Ariston of Pella.
[3] Eutropius VII, 13, 5.
[4] Coins of Aelia down to the time of Valerian (A.D. 253-260).
[5] Ulpian ap. Dig. L, 15, 1, 6. [6] Epiphanius, De mensuris, 14.

Christian himself. He refused stoutly however to repudiate his interest in astrology, and, being excommunicated by the indignant Christians in consequence, he became convert to Judaism, thereafter translating, with deliberate anti-Christian bias, the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek as a rival to the Septuagint. The tale is in every way worthy of the Bishop of Constantia. Aquila's version, of which fragments survive, was a faithful rendering and justly popular. The fact that there was a Christian Church at Aelia from its earliest days does not require such episcopal confirmation.

Due honours for the suppression of the revolt were bestowed upon Severus [1] and upon others who had done good service in the war. The Emperor himself accepted, in A.D. 135, the army's salutation of him as " Imperator " for the second time in his life, an acclamation to which no military exploit either by himself or by any of his generals earlier in his reign had given any claim.[2]

" Over the gate by which we go out to Bethlehem," wrote Saint Jerome concerning Jerusalem, " there was a boar carven in marble, signifying that the Jews were subject to the Roman power." [3] The same writer depicts, not surely without some sober satisfaction, the mourning of the Jews upon that one day in the year when they were allowed entry into the Holy City.

" The Cross of our Lord gleams and shines for His Resurrection. From the Mount of Olives there floats the radiant standard of the Cross, while the hapless folk mourn over the ruins of the Temple, weeping, dishevelled, with bruisèd arms and torn hair, and the soldiery demand monies of them to let them lament the longer.

" Who, when he sees the sight, can still doubt ? It is a Day of Wrath, a Day of Trouble and Distress, a Day of Wasting and of Desolation, a Day of Gloom and Darkness, yea, a Day of Clouds and of Thick Darkness, a Day of the Trumpet and of Terror. They howl over the ashes of the Sanctuary, over the destroyed Altar, over the once fenced city, over the Corner of the Temple whence once they cast down headlong James, the brother of the Lord." [4]

The final expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem and the crushing of their rebellion destroyed for ever any faint prospect which might have yet remained of some lasting reconciliation, if not with the Christian Church, at least with the tolerant Gentiles.

" That Jewish Hellenism which proclaimed the common brotherhood of man disappeared, and Pharisaic Judaism, which sharply repudiated all communion with the Gentile world, won universal acceptance. The Jews became more and more what

[1] C.I.L. III, 2830 : perhaps the last occasion on which " triumphalia ornamenta " were given to any Roman general.

[2] See Note above, p. 218.

[3] Chron. ed. Schoene p. 169E.

[4] Ad Zeph. I, 15.

they properly and essentially were—strangers in the pagan world. The restoration of a Jewish commonwealth in the Holy Land was and continued to be a subject of religious hope which they held by with unconquerable tenacity." [1]

In this way is Hadrian's work linked with post-war Zionism. But is a long memory a greater curse or blessing, whether to Jew or Irishman and to his neighbours?

"Henceforward," says a modern writer, "there reigned in Judaea the quiet of the grave." [2]

So melancholy a quiet may be interpreted thus:—

It means that the unhappy land was rid at last, after so many weary years, of the twin curses, religious and nationalist fanaticism and of their inseparable comrade, murder; that it settled down into the enjoyment of long years of unbroken tranquillity. The Jew agitator and conspirator ceased to afflict the countryside. Gentile and Hebrew could at last live and work amicably side by side, the small farmer cultivating his crops peacefully, the petty trader seeking his profits keenly, the merchant trafficking in his goods busily, the artisan drawing his wages contentedly, the children growing up to manhood lightheartedly, knowing nothing of the implanting of the bitter seeds of anger, hatred, and rebellion. Now the new land of Palestine might forget the storm clouds which had always lowered so blackly over the ancient country of Judaea, and, rejoicing in her welfare, call herself happy, a land without a history. The Jew rebel had made one last effort to free himself from the "grappling-hook" [3] which fastened him to a great Empire. It was not only the Roman of the time who had cause to welcome the failure of that desperate attempt.

There is the other side to this as to every cheerful picture. Idealism had been worsted yet once again in its age-long contest with practical commonsense. Yet if ever a vision kept a people from perishing, it was this same idealism which, through centuries of suffering and hate, of greed, rancour, and money-seeking, preserved the Jewish soul alive. And commonsense still marvels, is puzzled, waxes wrathful. But there was also another religious enthusiasm, less fettered by rite, guiltless of pride of race or nationality, which did long battle with Roman commonsense, and, after many years, proved that even idealism in such struggle may be invincible. To what extent did the Roman Government in Hadrian's day make war upon Judaism's rival, Christianity?

§ 3. Hadrian's Attitude to Christianity

Some years before the Christian Church at Aelia Capitolina began its new career of peace, if also of insignificance, Hadrian

[1] Schürer. [2] Hertzberg, "Imperial Rome," p. 151.
[3] De Valera, Sept. 12, 1921.

had had occasion to consider the nature of the Christian religion in its relation to the Roman State.[1] It is unlikely that he concerned himself with the tenets of Christianity otherwise. Doubtless the Emperor was "omnium curiositatum explorator," as a Christian called him in after years,[2] a happily succinct summary of a character upon which modern writers lavish pages of laborious analysis. But Christianity was no great curiosity. Not yet were the days of heresy-hunting or hair-splitting controversies concerning the nature of Deity, nor indeed would Hadrian have ever indulged a taste for such barren logomachies, barren at least of kindliness and sympathy, if rich in envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. Philhellene though he was, the Emperor was too truly Roman for such Greek theological subtleties.

Neither was Christianity a novelty. Hadrian was unlikely to feel any animosity against a creed now professed by many thousands of his subjects unless it gave affront of its own wilfulness. "He scorned foreign rites," says his ancient biographer.[3] There were many such in the wilder parts of the Empire which might seem to a cultured Prince uncouth enough. But he was not a man openly to show such scorn unless provoked. "When credulity is allowed scope," says a great Oxford scholar, "intolerance is not far off."[4] Hadrian had seen too much of many religious beliefs to be credulous. "A character like Hadrian could not be anything but tolerant."[5] Many charges are hurled against the early Roman Emperors, but the day was happily still distant when a bigot should ascend the throne of the Caesars.

This then is the beginning of the "Age of Apologies," a time, that is, when there was opportunity, not now for such fanatical defiance as had marked that earlier generation of the Church's history when the Christian lived in hourly expectation of the second coming of his Lord, but for an appeal instead to calm, dispassionate, and reasoned argumentation concerning the verities

[1] Chief ancient evidence: Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. IV, 3; IV, 26, 9 (quoting Melito, Bishop of Sardis, "Apology" to Marcus Aurelius, *c.* A.D. 170); Justin, Apol. I, 68; Eutropius VII, 13, 2-3, and Dio 70, 3, 1-2 (who add nothing), and especially the "Rescript to Minicius" in Justin (see below).

Modern writers (often at most wearisome length): Ramsay, "Church in the Roman Empire," pp. 322-345; Lightfoot, "Apost. Fathers," Part II, Vol. I, pp. 440-442; Mommsen, Religionsfrevel ap. Ges. Schr. III, pp. 413-415; Hardy, "Studies," pp. 108-111; and minor writers.

There is no evidence that the Christians first began to enrol themselves as "Benefit Societies," Collegia tenuiorum, under Hadrian (as Ramsay, p. 430—questioned by Hardy, pp. 149-150)—neither would such enrolment have given them the slightest security for their worship, in view of the Imperial regulations concerning Collegia.

In this section I present my own conclusions, and can only repeat what I said long ago in "Nero," that every statement concerning the relations of early Christianity and the Roman Government is matter of hot controversy. This is however more violent for "Nero" than for Hadrian.

[2] Tertullian, Apol. 5.

[3] *Vita* 22, 10.

[4] Mark Pattison, "Casaubon," p. 446.

[5] Herzog p. 376.

of the faith. The Emperor himself, according to Christian tradition, gave gentle encouragement to the apologists. When he was in Athens, he allowed one, possibly two, of such defences of Christianity to be presented to him. The one was the work of a certain Quadratus, "disciple of the Apostles," who has been very doubtfully identified with the Christian Bishop of Athens of that name.[1] The other was written by "Aristides the philosopher".[2] Thus began the publication of a series of works intended to convince the thoughtful and to confound the unbeliever. Justin's famous "Apology" followed in the course of a few years.[3] Those of Quadratus and Aristides are lost. Of the former we know only that the writer declared that men whom Christ Himself had healed from their sicknesses and raised from the dead were alive still in his own day.[4] To Hadrian, in that age of miracles, such a claim, so directly attested, might seem worth notice, though it could be neither novel nor peculiar. The Emperor was disposed to offer Christ a place in the Pantheon.[5] This was as fair a concession as could be expected reasonably of a broad-minded Prince of learning and of culture.

The difficulty with the Christians now as always was their own intolerance. In the last resort the Christian philosopher or apologist proved to be every whit as stubborn, if not so bitter and so furious, as the seer of apocalyptic vengeance. Always—let the question once be pushed home—the Christian would defy the right of the State to insist upon recognition of the State cult of Caesar-worship as the test of political loyalty. Hence the Christian put himself out of Court. By his own choice he made the "Name" imply treason, and as such its profession was punishable by the State. It was an altogether annoying attitude which the Christians chose invariably to adopt. They seemed on the whole to be a harmless, if a superstitious, folk, and it was truly unfortunate that their peculiar bigotry should lead them so to outrage the feelings and the religious beliefs of their neighbours. They evidently had no inkling of what after all is the first requisite of the common life of man as the humanist sees this, the spirit of forbearance. Hence the abiding trouble, that Christianity might always provoke riots in the streets, and it was the State's business to see that men kept the peace. But if the Christians would only

[1] Eusebius, H.E. IV, 23, 1, 2. The identification in Jerome (Epist. 70) is probably a wrong one. Cf. Lightfoot, Ap. F. II, 1, pp. 524-525. If accepted it implies that Bishop Quadratus' episcopal predecessor at Athens, Publius, was martyred under Hadrian before the latter visits Athens. The authority for the two Bishops, Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, gives no date for the martyrdom of Publius.

[2] Eusebius, H.E. IV, 3; Jerome, Voi. Ill. 19. Aristides' Apology is dated A.D. 125 by Jerome and Eusebius; about A.D. 129 by Ramsay; not till A.D. 140 by Rendel Harris.

[3] *c.* A.D. 140.

[4] "εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο."

[5] Lampridius, Vit. Alex. Sev. 43, 6—not a convincing authority, nor convincingly told. Mommsen calls it "a later invention but essentially correct" (p. 413, note).

behave like sensible men and refrain from flaunting their narrow creed, they, like all other subjects of the Imperial Government, did not, by mere adherence to a ridiculous set of beliefs, forfeit their claim to protection against calumny and unprovoked mob violence, always supposing that the essentially, if hidden, treasonable character of their religion was not dragged out into the bare light of day in the face of incensed fellow-citizens or puzzled and outraged magistrates. The important thing was not a man's soul and its future prospects, but a man's behaviour. Let the Christian, if he pleased, save his own soul alive, but not go worrying about his neighbour's. Citizens or slaves, men must be decent and reasonable human creatures when they lived in civilized society. Creeds as such mattered very little.

This was Trajan's attitude to a very troublesome question of public order. In his famous reply to the worried Pliny that most sagacious of Emperors had enunciated certain practical principles for dealing with the large numbers of Christians whom his governor found in Bithynia. Christians were *not* to be searched out. Accusers were *not* to be encouraged. If there *was* a clear case of denunciation, the accused must be given every chance to recant and prove his loyalty by due observance of a universal form of sacrifice. In the final resort, unyielding contumacy was treasonable and must be punished by death. " The Roman Government, in view of the remnants left of old national sentiment and the fanaticism of the masses, could not openly risk ' Atheism ' and let the State Religion fall." [1]

How could Hadrian improve upon this attitude ? If he had declared the Christian creed and the Christian worship directly permissible ; if he had ordered that no Christian should be punished as such, but *only* upon conviction for crimes which had no connection with his religion ;—this would indeed have been a new policy and " downright freedom for the Christian Faith ".[2] But our evidence does not warrant such statements, and the action taken by the Emperors following him shows that Hadrian bestowed no such legality upon Christianity. The " Name " remained a crime.

But, just as Trajan deprecated heresy-hunts, so Hadrian could and did express strong dislike of any sacrifice of law to a popular prejudice against heretics. More emphatically even than Trajan he warned " false accusers " that a conviction on this score would meet with condign punishment. This is the purport of the one contemporary piece of evidence, Hadrian's own " Rescript to

[1] Mommsen, op. cit., p. 414.

[2] Mommsen, p. 415, thinks this *was* Hadrian's policy. " Christians could be brought to trial only for *non*-religious transgressions." Where in the Rescript is this all-important " only " ?

Minicius Fundanus," concerning the authenticity of which there is no reasonable doubt. Its language is simple and clear, not, as has been curiously maintained, " sarcastic, illogical, of studied vagueness ".[1] Hadrian was far too good a lawyer to propound a Rescript intentionally capable of more interpretations than one. It had the force of law for the Empire, even if it insisted only on proper procedure. The Emperor is said to have written other letters to the like effect,[2] but the prejudice against Christians was always keenest in the province of Asia Minor, and it is to a governor of this province that the famous Rescript is addressed.

Quintus Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus,[3] governor of Asia, wrote to Hadrian, probably in A.D. 123, asking for instructions concerning his treatment of accusations brought against Christians. Hadrian in reply sent a Rescript to Caius Minicius Fundanus, a friend of Pliny and of Plutarch, who had meanwhile succeeded Silvanus in his office of governor. The Rescript ran as follows : [4]

" I received a letter from your illustrious predecessor Serenus Gratianus, and I do not wish to leave his enquiry unanswered, lest innocent men be troubled and false accusers seize occasion for robbery.

" If the provincials are clearly willing to appear in person to substantiate suits against Christians, if, that is, they come themselves before your judgment seat to prefer their accusations, I do not forbid them to prosecute. But I do not permit them to make mere entreaties and protestations. Justice demands that if any one wishes to bring an accusation, you should make due legal enquiry into the charge. If such an accusation be brought and it be proved that the accused men have done anything illegal, you will punish them as their misdeeds deserve. But, in Heaven's name, take the very greatest care that if a man prosecute any one

[1] Ramsay (yet he says himself, " Sarcasm is not government and the Emplre had to be governed ! "). Lightfoot p. 462 (" The very language was perhaps studiously vague "). The only difficulty is that caused by the loss of the letter of enquiry, whose purport must be deduced from the answer.

[2] Directly asserted by Melito. If so, these other letters are lost.

[3] Cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom., sub voc. This is his correct name. Hadrian or his secretary seems to have got it wrong, and so the Christian writers give Serenus or Serennius Gratianus. Similarly Minicius Fundanus appears in these as Minucius.

[4] The Rescript : this has a curious history. It is quoted in *Greek* in Justin (Apol. 68), and from Justin by Eusebius (H.E. IV, 8 ; cf. ib. Chron. ap. Georg. Sync. 658). But according to Eusebius Justin inserted it in *Latin*, the language of the actual Rescript, and Eusebius translated it into Greek. But now Eusebius' Greek version alone appears in Justin's text, and the only Latin version is in Rufinius' translation of Eusebius (*c.* A.D. 402-406). Rufinius however himself is thought to have inserted the original Latin Rescript, as his is not an exact version of Eusebius' Greek. The latter's language is milder in places. Cf. on the whole question A. W. F. Blunt, "The Apologies of Justin Martyr " (Cambridge), 1911, pp. 135-136. The Rescript in general is treated by Mommsen, Ramsay, Lightfoot (cf. Ap. Fathers II, 1, pp. 460-464), Hardy. See reff. above, p. 222, note 1.

of these men by way of false accusation you visit the accuser, as his wickedness deserves, with severer penalties."

It is clear that Christians, if unpopular (as the Rescript suggests that they were), were likely to be charged with offences of which they were innocent. These charges, writes Hadrian in effect, must be impartially investigated by thorough legal enquiry. There is nothing in the Rescript to prevent a man being accused simply of "The Name". It is intended to prevent prejudice against a man simply because he is a Christian, and to stop such being the real basis of accusation or condemnation. Law and fact were to decide the issue, not prejudice. The accuser should bring a charge in due legal form and be formally responsible for its *bona fide* character. Had Salvianus simply asked "Is Christianity punishable?" the answer was still Trajan's "Yes". It is clear that this was not his problem, but rather the extent (if any) to which such an accusation should confuse the issues of charges on other grounds.

The result of the Rescript, so far as it went, was likely to be wholly favourable to the Christians. Men would think twice before lightly accusing them because they disliked their beliefs or their habits. Even to accuse another of "The Name" was risky. Suppose he denied it? What would the prosecutor's fate be unless he could prove that he had brought the charge in good faith, and the burden of proof would lie on him. Hadrian's Christian subjects had good reason to be pleased with the Rescript, and later apologists, such as Melito, Bishop of Sardis under Marcus Aurelius, could make a general, if cautious, use of it in their favour.

In fact it was not until the late fourth and early fifth century that the belief was spread of a "persecution of the Christians" under Hadrian.[1] Earlier tradition knew nothing of any such persecution, nor did the famous historian of the early Church, Eusebius.[2] But the hare once started was chased gaily to death.

Names, details, lists, of "Hadrianic" martyrs duly edified the Church. Symphorosa and her seven sons were cruelly sacrificed by Hadrian upon the inauguration of his Tiburtine Villa.[3] Saint Thalelaeus and his companions, also seven in number, perished at

[1] Viz. Jerome (A.D. 392-397), Vir. Ill. 19 and Epist. 70; Sulpicius Severus (A.D. 403) and his "Quarta persecutio" (Chron. II. 31, 32); "doubtless misled by Jerome" (Lightfoot p. 491). Cf. Orosius (A.D. 417-418), Adv. Paganos VII, 13-15.

Lightfoot deals with the question (pp. 486-492) and displays a cautious scepticism. The ancient writers put the persecution early in Hadrian's reign. They could not believe that the Apologies had been penned in vain. Lightfoot thinks there may have been a few cases at its end.

[2] Hadrian's favour to the Christians is insisted on by Melito. So Lactantius, De mort. persec. 3, 4, talks of a "longa pax" from Domitian to that "execrable animal" Decius. Tertullian, Apol. 5 (*c.* A.D. 200), may be mere repetition and such, as Lightfoot points out (p. 8), is not additional evidence. But the favourable evidence *is* the earlier, and Eusebius' silence is striking.

[3] Cf. Lightfoot, pp. 486-489.

Aegae for the faith.[1] Both stories are grotesque. Saint Dionysius the Areopagite was tortured at Athens by the Emperor's orders.[2] This venerable martyr, whom St. Paul had converted in A.D. 52, had at least, on this showing, enjoyed his centenary before the end came. It is not only in the Annals of Baronius that "the anile fables and apocryphal legends which had accumulated round the scanty nucleus of the early Christian story are consecrated as serious portions of Church history".[3] Small wonder that a Froude or a Pattison among the pioneers of the Oxford Movement found their early enthusiasm shaken by research into the Lives of the Saints among which Newman and later of his adherents pursue their tranquil course undisturbed. The Acts of the Martyrs are the despair of the historian, well nigh the *ne plus ultra* of human civilized credulity.

That some danger threatened Christians under Hadrian by reason of their faith is shown both by the Imperial Rescript and by the "Apologies" which that danger evoked. The writers of these, however, seem neither to have feared nor to have suffered any ill consequences from their open profession of faith. Later ages differ as to whether the Apologies elicited the Rescript or the Rescript the Apologies.[4] But the sole martyr of note conceded by the modern critic to the Church of Hadrian's reign is Telesphorus, seventh or eighth Bishop of Rome.[5] He had been peacefully Bishop for eleven years before his death, which the ancient evidence sets in the first year of the reign of Hadrian's successor Pius. There arises the uncomfortable suspicion that every early Bishop of Rome had then to be a martyr if he would satisfy the Christian tradition and walk worthily in the footsteps of Saint Peter. It was under Antonius Pius, in A.D. 155, that that glorious figur the aged Polycarp, ended at the stake his long life of 86 years' service to his Master. So many long years had he, the Bishop of Smyrna, in the most hostile and fanatical of Roman provinces, lived under Trajan and under Hadrian, undisturbed by any worse peril than by the growth of heresies.

This then is the history of the Christian Church under Hadrian. It enjoys peace, though always it is peace without any guarantee of security. But "the lot of the Christians in this reign must

[1] This is a discovery by F. C. Conybeare ("Monuments of Early Christianity," pp. 239-255), whose arguments to transfer to Hadrian a martyrdom which the MSS. ascribe to Numerianus (*c.* 284 A.D.) are most amazingly weak. In any case, such a martyrology is too absurd to be of any historical value.

[2] Martyr. vet. Rom. p. 170; Lightfoot p. 489.

[3] Mark Pattison, "Casaubon," p. 334.

[4] The first is Eusebius' view; the second, Ramsay's.

[5] Irenaeus, Haer. III, 3, 4. Cf. Eusebius, H.E. IV, 10, and Chron. Lightfoot puts the martyrdom under Hadrian "when the Emperor's mind was already unhinged by his malady," etc., etc. (op. 442). Seventh Bishop (Jerome); eighth (Eusebius).

have been comparatively a happy one ".[1] The Imperial philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, was to be less patient of Christianity than was his predecessor, the humanist Prince, Hadrian.[2]

Did persecution kindle the fervour and increase the strength of the Christian Church? Did she languish in the reign of Hadrian?

The scribe of the English Jesuit College at Rheims in the days of Elizabeth hesitated whether he should ascribe the relaxation of the persecution of Roman Catholics in the latter years of the great Queen's reign to the tender goodness of God towards the afflicted or to the subtile and devilish ingenuity of the heretics, whereby they sought to quench the pure flame of zeal. This is the kind of alternative which must at times perplex the historian of the early Christian Church. And yet in all ages the weaker brethren are in the great majority. Numbers compensate for the dulling of the glow of defiant enthusiasm. The vessel of the Church fared perhaps more gaily through the transient sunshine of those days of early spring than when spring turned again to winter and she was buffeted by the tempests of wrath.

§ 4. The "Letter to Servianus"

The Christians of Hadrian's day are mentioned in one other document, a letter purporting to have been written by the Emperor himself to his elderly brother-in-law, Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus.[3]

In former days under Trajan, as has been seen,[4] the older man's jealousy had done Hadrian an evil turn or two. But when the latter became Emperor, friendly relations seem to have existed between the two until the supposed tragedy of A.D. 136.[5] Servianus became consul for the third time in A.D. 134, and in his old age (he was then nearing the nineties) he received from his kinsman all possible show of respect.[6]

It was in this year of his consulship that Hadrian is supposed to have written to him a letter which survives. The letter is certainly instructive, corrective of the old man's ignorance. But why the Emperor should have written it, or where he was when he wrote it, remain unanswered questions. Some men, pedagogically inclined, do love writing such letters. There is no other

[1] Ramsay p. 329.

[2] Lightfoot "counts on the fingers" the martyrs under Hadrian. Ramsay thinks he minimizes unduly. Of course there may have been sporadic executions then; but provincial governors were likely to take their cue of nonchalant indifference to the whole affair from their Imperial master, to whom they were responsible.

[3] Born *c.* A.D. 47; legate of Upper Germany A.D. 98; consul under Domitian, Trajan, and in A.D. 134 with T. Vibius Varus; married Domitia Paulina, Hadrian's sister, who died *c.* A.D. 131. Cf. C.I.L. III, 43-45; Prosop. Imp. Rom. II, No. 417.

[4] See above, p. 20. [5] See below, Chapter XV, § 1. [6] *Vita* 8, 11.

cause for suspecting Hadrian guilty of this amiable if unattractive weakness.

In actual fact the "Letter to Servianus" bears the stamp of a forgery upon the very face of it.[1] It is incredible that the Emperor can have been its author. Little advantage either is gained by the supposition, akin to those of which critics of various scriptures, sacred and profane, used to be so passionately fond, that the letter is composite, a genuine substratum or core in which intrusive matter has become imbedded, the work of redactors as anonymous and undatable as any volcanic agency.[2] If it be cited as good second century evidence for the then organization of the Christian Ecclesia under bishops and presbyters—let this be so if it be wanted for this purpose.

The letter is as follows :—

"So you praise Egypt, my very dear Servianus! I know the land from top to bottom, a fickle, tricky land, blown about by every wind of rumour. In it the worshippers of Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves Bishops of Christ pay their vows to Serapis. There is no ruler of a Jewish synagogue there, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, a quack. Whenever the patriarch himself [3] comes to Egypt he is made to worship Serapis by some and Christ by others.

"The men are a most seditious, addle-pated, riotous crew. The town is rich, prosperous, productive.[4] There is not an idle person in it. Some are glass makers, others paper manufacturers, others linen weavers. Every one seems to have some trade and is supposed to have one. The gouty are busy; the blind are energetic; not even hands crippled by gout keep the victim from an active life. They all of them have one and the same God, Money. Christians adore Him, Jews worship Him, all the Gentiles give Him adoration. It is a pity that the town has not got better morals. For its productivity certainly makes it deserve the reputation which its very size gives it, that of the First Town in Egypt.

"I have made the town every possible concession. I restored its old privileges to it, and I gave them new ones so bountifully that while I was actually staying there they paid me thanks! No sooner was my back turned than they began saying many things against my son Verus—and what they have said about Antinous I think you know. My one wish for them is that they

[1] See Note B at end of chapter.

[2] So Bury, pp. 520-521, who derives his arguments from Dürr, Excursus II, pp. 88-90.

[3] ? the Jewish patriarch of Tiberias. The Christian patriarch of Alexandria would be "a gross anachronism" (Lightfoot). What could Servianus have made of a patriarch at all ?

[4] Egypt is now suddenly and clumsily identified with Alexandria.

may have to eat their own fowls. How they fatten these I blush to repeat.

"I am sending you some many-coloured drinking cups, which the priest of the temple presented to me; consecrated they are specially to you and to my sister.[1] Please use them for holiday feasts. But be careful that our friend Africanus [2] does not indulge too freely with them."

The chronicler records that Hadrian had on one occasion to write a forcible letter to the Alexandrines, remonstrating with them for faction fighting, on receipt of which the scared rioters desisted from their rioting.[3] The ingenious compiler of the letter to Servianus may have known of this, may even have used some of its language. But the entire origin of the letter is uncertain. Neither bishop nor presbyter, priest nor patriarch, Christian, Samaritan, nor Jew, would be eager to vouch for its truth. It remains an amusing enough sketch, and one not wholly unflattering, of second century (?) Alexandria, one worthy to be placed side by side with Kingsley's picture of the city in the days of Hypatia.

NOTE A

Hadrian's Presence at the Jewish War

That Hadrian himself was present in the field is argued mainly from Dio's quite significant tale of his letter to the Senate, and also from the scanty decorations awarded to Q. Lollius Urbicus, "legato Imp. Hadriani in expeditione Judaica" (C.I.L. VIII, 6706), showing Urbicus as aide-de-camp only and not in actual command (Schiller); thirdly too from his request to Apollodorus his architect for instructions about the siege of fortified places, "which can only refer to the Jewish strongholds" (P.-W.). Cf. Apollod. Poliorket, proem, ap. Plew, p. 92 sq. Again, the inscription of C. Nummius Constans, found at Atella in Campania, shows part of his military career to have been in the Third Praetorian Cohort, and that he also received decorations "ob bellum Judaicum" (C.I.L. X, 3733). But neither this, nor C.I.L. III, 2830, also cited for the purpose, proves the presence of Praetorians at the war. (Cf. P.-W.) The latest confirmation however is an inscription found at Gerasa in Syrian Dekapolis, which proves that eight turmae of the Equites singulares, i.e. the personal bodyguard of the Emperor, spent a winter at Antioch and Gerasa. The inscription is a dedication "pro salute Hadriani". Only war, it is urged, can have called these troops from Rome, and it must have been the Jewish war, they accompanying Hadrian. (Cf. G. L. Cheesman ap. Journ. Rom. Studies IV, pp. 13-16.) The evidence for Hadrian's presence thus seems fairly conclusive without the need to rely on Rabbinical legends (as ap. Schürer, Moses of Khorene II, 57 sq.).

C.I.L. VI, 974, is so mutilated as to be of little use; but as restored it is dated A.D. 135, and suggests that Hadrian had "liberated the State

[1] Who died in A.D. 131 probably—three years before the supposed date of the letter.
[2] ? = T. Sextius Africanus, consul in A.D. 112; cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. III, No. 465.
[3] Dio 69, 8, 1A.

from enemies". Schiller, Schürer, and P.-W. believe the Emperor did take the field. If so, he was certainly back in Rome by May 5, A.D. 134 (C.I.G. 5906).

NOTE B

The Authenticity of the Letter to Servianus

This letter is found in Vopiscus' Life of Saturninus (the rebel against the Emperor Probus), Chapter VIII. Vopiscus (*c.* A.D. 307) is explaining why Aurelian forbade Saturninus to visit Egypt, and inserts "Hadrian's Letter" to justify his unflattering picture of the Egyptians.

Vopiscus describes the letter as "ex libris Phlegontis liberti ejus proditam" (7, 6). Now Hadrian's freedman Phlegon wrote many works, the remains of which are enough to show that he was an uncritical babbler. But the Emperor himself is said to have published his own "Autobiography" under the disguise of his freedmen's authorship.

> "Famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent. Nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur" (*Vita* 16, 1).

Pseudonymity (if so it may be called) of the kind was a curious way of obtaining literary (?) fame quickly for oneself. But apart from this, to argue from the above passage (1) that the "Letter" was in the Autobiography; (2) that the Autobiography was published in Phlegon's name, is to make a couple of doubtful assertions and on poor evidence besides. We can be sure only that the letter was to be found in one of the works bearing Phlegon's name.

The tone of the letter can hardly recommend it as one of Imperial authorship. Would Hadrian concern himself with Christian bishops and presbyters, with patriarchs of doubtful provenance and Samaritans unspecified? Then it contains two really bad anachronisms. The first, the mention of his sister, may be avoided by pleading that the date of her death is not certain. But no amount of wriggling can surmount the second, viz. that Hadrian describes Verus as his son. If there is any certainty of dates, the letter is ascribed to Servianus' Consulship, i.e. A.D. 134, and Verus was not adopted by Hadrian till A.D. 136. Lightfoot, who accepts the authenticity (Ap. Fathers II, 1, 465, and St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, pp. 223-224), does his best to grapple with this disaster, but quite unconvincingly. Dürr (Excursus II, pp. 88-90) also believes in the Hadrianic authorship to some degree. Schanz (Röm. Litt. III, p. 10) rejects it as a forgery.

CHAPTER XIV

"REST AFTER TOIL"

§ 1. Relaxation.
§ 2. Hadrian's literary activities.
§ 3. Hadrian's buildings.
Note: "Animula vagula blandula".

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. Relaxation

So the day drew towards evening.

Hadrian had returned from Egypt to Rome in A.D. 131. The Jewish rebellion had called him again to the East for a brief time two years later. Except for this interlude he quitted home no more during his last seven years of life.

His Imperial work, other than the routine of administration from Rome, was ended. He had well earned some period of rest before night came. Far away in the savage north the German, eternal and immemorial foe of Italy, lurked in his black forests, held off from the south land, in spite of covetous dreaming, by the defences which he, Hadrian, had strengthened, by the army which he had disciplined, by the still unbroken magic of the Roman name. The troll could not yet grasp the treasure. On the Roman world there dawned the Golden Age, that marvel of Hadrian's making. Saeculum aureum, Temporum felicitas,[1] what was it but his work?

It was time, and there had come at last the opportunity, for the Emperor to seek some quiet pleasure out of life. And he, a man of many cultured interests, failed not to find it, until his last sore illness fell upon him. "He had no circle of trusty friends round him," writes a German; the last years of his life were not only lonely but they were completely poisoned."[2] This is a foolish and malicious picture.

His people had pleasures of their own, rude amusements, noisy delights in games and shows, which he smilingly encouraged. The gladiator, the huntsman of the arena, the actor, the Greek athlete and pugilist, all found in him their desired patron.[3] The pleasures of appetite had never greatly ensnared him. His simplicity of fare was after an almost antique fashion.[4] He sought to promote the like in Court circles. Men indeed resented his close and secret scrutiny of their daily lives. One merry tale told of him shows a fair give and take.[5]

[1] Hadrian's coin legends (Cohen, 1321, 1436).
[2] Herzog p. 374.
[3] *Vita* 19, 6-8; Dio 69, 8, 2; cf. C.I.G. 5906, and Boeckh ad loc. = leave to the Collegium cultorum Herculis to have a Club-room in Rome, May 5, A.D. 134.
[4] *Vita* 22, 5; Dio 69, 7, 3.
[5] *Vita* 11, 4-6.

" A certain man received an angry letter from his wife, complaining of his long absence from home. ' You stay away,' she wrote, ' kept by your pleasures and your baths.' Now Hadrian had already learnt this concerning him through his spies. When therefore the husband came to him, craving leave of absence, Hadrian reproached him for his self-indulgence and too great love of bathing. ' What ! ' cried the other, ' Has she written to you too ? ' "

Yet for all his care for simplicity of life, the Emperor delighted in both giving and returning hospitality. His many guests found him of pleasant conversation, full of jokes and repartees. He would cap a story with a story, a song with a song.[1] He never forgot what once he had read.[2] He loved also to converse with common folk, and was always " most courteous in such conversation," remonstrating sharply with those who, as if jealous for princely dignity, would grudge him this pleasure of human sympathy.[3] One story has a flavour about it of that other tale of Trajan and the Importunate Widow which Dante has immortalized :

" It befel that as Hadrian passed along a certain way a woman made her prayer to him. But he passed on, saying, ' I have no time '. But she cried aloud thereat, saying, ' Then be King no longer ! ' Thereupon he turned back to her and gave heed to her petition." [4]

Yet, genial and courteous though the Emperor was, he was master of the Roman mob and knew how to withstand its clamours.[5]

To be generous in gifts to friends, as at the festal season of the Saturnalia,[6] was a real joy to Hadrian. Nothing pleased him more than to surprise another, whether acquaintance or stranger, with a timely present.[7] But his generosity was shrewd enough, as the tales told of it show. He himself went often, as a citizen among citizens, to the public baths. There one day he saw a veteran soldier whom he remembered (his memory for faces is said to have been as remarkable as that for books [8]), and noticed that he was rubbing himself against the wall. He sent to ask the man why " he used the marble as a scraper ". Said the other, " Because I have no slave to do it ". Then Hadrian made him a present of both slaves and money. But, continues the tale, when next the Emperor came to the baths, he saw many old men there, and all were rubbing their backs against the wall. He had

[1] *Vita* 20, 8 ; Epit. § 7. [2] *Vita* 20, 10. [3] *Vita* 17, 8 ; 20, 1.
[4] Dio 69, 6, 3. [5] Dio 69, 6, 1-3 ; 16, 3.
[6] Corresponding in time and holiday-making to our Christmas.
[7] *Vita* 17, 2, 3 ; 22, 9 : 15, 1 ; Dio 69, 5, 2.
[8] *Vita* 20, 9, 10 ; Epit. § 3.

them all called together to him. "Rub one another," quoth Hadrian.[1] And again:

"A certain man with white hair had asked of him a boon, which he refused. Presently the suitor appeared with his hair dyed, and made the same request. 'Oh!' said the Emperor, 'I have already refused this to your father.'" [2]

Hadrian was not one to find time hang heavy on his hands:

"Your grandfather," wrote the learned Fronto to Marcus Aurelius, "was a learned and wise prince, diligent not only in ruling but also in travel through the world. Yet I know that he was passionately devoted to music and to flute-playing, and he had besides an excellent taste for good fare." [3]

So might also the grave Philosopher-King deign to unbend at a Festal Season!

There was one dish, we are told, which Hadrian's favourite, Ceionius Commodus,[4] invented for the table. This was relished with peculiar gusto by the Emperor, and it figured frequently on the menu of Imperial banquets in later years. This so-called "Tetrafarmacum" (or more properly "Pentafarmacum") a "strange ambiguous viand," was a meat-pie, wherein pheasant, peacock, wild boar's flesh, sow's udder, and ham were all baked together in pastry. The peacock was the fifth ingredient added to make it perfect.[5] "This," says the writer gravely, "Hadrian always ate." Shortly after its invention he fell ill! Here was a decline from the simplicity of the Emperor's dinners in earlier years, even though he continued to deny himself wine at breakfast.[6]

To turn to more serious pursuits again:

One writer calls Hadrian "a King most musical"; [7] another commends his skill in singing, harp-playing, and painting.[8] He practised sculpture in both bronze and marble. "All but up to your Polycletus and Euphranor," says an ancient critic genially.[9] There seems to have been no art in which the Emperor did not strive to excel. His actual influence on the Fine Arts has been variously appraised. Some have ascribed to this the tendency in Roman sculpture to revert from the "naturalism" of Trajan's reign to an "academic renascence of classicistic (*sic*) art," which is denounced as "a symptom of the decay of creative power".

[1] *Vita* 17, 5-7. [2] *Vita* 20, 8.
[3] Fronto, ed. Naber, p. 226, "De Feriis Alsiensibus".
[4] For Commodus, see below, p. 259.
[5] *Vita* 21, 4; *Vita Hel.* 5, 4, 5; Lampridius, *Vita Alex. Sev.* 30, 6. Naturally this calls for more notice from the writers of the Augustan History than does, e.g. Hadrian's Journey to Arabia or the British Wall. "'It doesn't sound very nice,' said Alice doubtfully." The White Knight reassures her.
[6] Dio 69, 7, 3. [7] Athenaeus VIII, 361 f. So ap. Julian, Caesares, 311D.
[8] *Vita* 14, 9; cf. Epit. § 2; Dio 69, 4, 2.
[9] Epit. § 2; cf. Dio 69, 3, 2.

" The progress of the new spirit was arrested," thanks to Hadrian.[1] This seems partly a deduction from his well-known " archaistic " taste in literature.[2]

Art and Philosophy rarely go hand in hand. They are cousins at best, who look askance at one another, not twin-sisters. Hadrian at least had very little inclination for philosophy, whether metaphysical or moral. It is true that he employed a Syrian " philosophus," Heliodorus by name, as one of his State secretaries, and either he or his successor promoted the Syrian to be prefect of Egypt. But Heliodorus was also a rhetorician of repute, as was Celer, Hadrian's " Secretary for Greek letters," and the philosophic treatises which earned for the former the more serious title are unknown to fame. " The Emperor can give you money," said an envious rival once to Heliodorus, " yes, and honours too. But he cannot make you an orator." Was it this unmannerly gibe which diverted the Syrian's studies to philosophy ? [3]

Hadrian's name is associated with two other philosophers of his day.

Euphrates [4] was a Stoic who had taught at Tyre before he followed Vespasian to Rome. Pliny, who had made his acquaintance when he himself was a young officer in Syria, writes about him in glowing terms. All Pliny's geese are swans. In his old age Euphrates fell ill of a disease which he judged to be incurable, and, true to his Stoic creed, committed suicide. It was Hadrian, says the chronicler, who sent the fatal hemlock to him. No philosophic example or belief persuaded the donor, when the like evil fate fell on him, to follow the Stoic's example.

" To sum up : remember that the door is open. Do not be a greater coward than the children, but do as they do. Children, when things do not please them, say, ' I will not play any more ' ; so, when things seem to you to reach that point, just say, ' I will not play any more,' and so depart, instead of staying to make moan." [5]

To this effect wrote Epictetus, true Stoic and philosopher. Was he himself known to Hadrian, his Emperor ?

His lectures, his doctrine, almost his great fame itself, have been preserved for all time thanks to Hadrian's own officer Arrian. And a passing remark by the ancient biographer of the Emperor states that the latter was " most familiar with the philosophers Epictetus and Heliodorus ".[6] But at no time in

[1] Stuart Jones, " Companion," p. 396. [2] See below, next section.

[3] Heliodorus : Dio 69, 3, 4-5 ; *Vita* 15, 5 ; 16, 10 ; cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, p. 187. Celer : Philostratus, Vit. Soph. 2, 24 ; *Vita Marci* 2, 4 ; *Vita Veri* 2, 5.

[4] Dio 69, 8, 3 ; Pliny, Epist. I, 10 ; cf. I, 12.

[5] Epictetus, Discourses I, 24 (trans. Matheson). The "Altercatio Hadriani Aug. et Epicteti phil. " was a game of question and answer popular in the Middle Ages (Gregorovius p. 283). Of course it is not genuine.

[6] *Vita* 16, 10.

the second century is Epictetus known to have lived or to have lectured in Rome. It is possible that Hadrian met him in his famous lecture-room at Nicopolis or at Athens. That his doctrines had in fact the least influence upon, or interest for, the travelling Emperor there is nothing beyond this one sentence to show. Seneca's philosophy must have influenced Nero more—by repulsion. Hadrian was too catholic, too nonchalant, to be attracted greatly by any philosophic school, even by the popular philosophy of the day which was eminently practical, positive, and moral rather than psychological or metaphysical. The modern preacher has called Epictetus a "seeker after God". Hadrian had little care either for the pursuers or the object of the quest. Plotina's son, even when in days now past he had granted her request on behalf of a pet philosopher, never showed any signs that he shared his mother's enthusiasm.[1]

And this his nonchalance extended itself quite as certainly to religion. Curious concerning rite and mystery he may have been. Patron of Hellenic shrines and their divine inmates, side by side with whom he took an equal place, perhaps to his own amusement, he undoubtedly was. The Greeks and their flattery were not to be denied. He also took every care of the sacred shrines in Rome, and his own great new temple of Venus and Rome engaged his thoughts for many days of the last years of his life.[2] But Hadrian felt not the slightest disposition for religious enquiry, for any search for creed or verity. No clear light from above could be expected to shine upon the "fallacis semita vitae". The path indeed was plain enough without any such supernal illumination. Life was to be lived, work was to be done. Who knew what should happen when these were over, when the soul, the body's little comrade, started upon its "dim journey into the unknown"?[3]

"Roman religion issued in a mere political worship of dead emperors and of the genius of the existing monarch and of the fortune of Rome—the deifications of force and power and outward peace, with scarce a spark of love or moral enthusiasm."[4] To this not inapt summary of the religious situation, albeit by an English Bishop forty years ago, Hadrian might well have given

[1] See above, pp. 50-52. [2] See below, p. 248.

[3] S. Dill, "Roman Society," p. 503 (cf. p. 536, whence this last phrase is taken), dwells with some exaggeration upon Hadrian as "religious sceptic". That Hadrian's cosmopolitanism prepared the way for the diffusion of Christianity and thus was "injurious to the power of Rome" is a very fanciful flight of the imagination by Bury (p. 494). The idea is perhaps to be found in embryo in Mommsen (cf. Ges. Schr. III, p. 413). The paving of some ways seems to be many feet in depth by the time it is happily finished. Usually it never is finished. Nor is Hadrian rightly labelled a "dilettante philosopher," as by Herzog (whose whole appreciation however has many merits—pp. 372-376). He professed literature, not philosophy, and it cannot be said that he even dallied with the latter.

[4] John Wordsworth, Bampton Lectures, 1881, pp. 240-241.

his ready assent. What had a Roman Emperor to do with religious love or moral enthusiasm? Enough for him to see that the ancient worships were decently celebrated and that the divinity of "Rome and Augustus" was properly and universally recognized. If Oriental fanatics wanted more than this, let them be as grotesque as they pleased so long as they kept the public peace (his officers should see to this) and refrained from insult to their neighbours' beliefs. Religion was not one of Hadrian's hobbies.

If one strand of credulity or superstition was interwoven into the mental complex of this "sharpwitted" [1] Emperor, this was at least the craze of the fashionable world for many a long year. Hadrian had a passion for reading the secrets of the future. It is probable that he used calculation of numbers rather than astrology for the purpose. He spent the evening of every New Year's Day, that day which has always been so fruitful of quaint plans and experiments, in setting down in writing all the events of the coming year, so far as these concerned his own fortunes. And he never made a mistake—so his biographer impressively asserts. Hence upon the first of January of the last year of his life, the Imperial forecast stopped abruptly at the day of his death. To such depths has historical biography descended. The Emperor Julian shared with Hadrian this amiable weakness.[2]

But the Emperor's chief relaxations in his days of leisure were two—literature and architecture.

§ 2. Hadrian's Literary Activities

All accounts agree that Hadrian was devoted to literature, both Greek and Roman, but especially to the former.[3] Men nicknamed him (though scarcely in his presence) "The Little Greek". Tragedies, comedies, farces, speeches,[4] all were his delight. His reputation for eloquence and for erudition survived to fill later doctors and writers with admiration. "In the judgment of great

[1] Mommsen.

[2] *Vita* 16, 7; cf. 14, 9; *Vita Hel.* 3, 9; cf. Dio 69, 11, 3; Amm. Marcell. Julian, 25, 17.

[3] "Poematum et litterarum nimium studiosissimus" (*Vita* 14, 8); "Oratione et versu promptissimus et in omnibus artibus peritissimus" (ib. 15, 10); "Facundissimus Latino sermone, Graeco eruditissimus" (Eutropius VIII, 7, 2); "Eruditissimus in utraque lingua" (Jerome ap. Euseb. Chron. 165); "Eloquio togaeque studiis accomodatior" (Victor, Caes. 14, 1); "Graecis litteris impensius eruditus, a plerisque Graeculus appellatus est" (Epit. § 2); "Athenicnsium studia moresque hausit, non scrmone tantum sed et ceteris disciplinis" (ib.); φύσει φιλόλογος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ (Dio 69, 3, 1).

[4] Hadrian's speeches—*Vita* 16, 5; 20, 7. Twelve Orations were published (Charisius, Gram. Lat. I, 222, 21; cf. Gellius XVI, 13, 4; Plotius, Bibl. 1, 86, ed. Bekker). Fragments of three survive, the harangues at Lambaesis, the speech De Italicensibus, and the Laudatio Matidiae. See above, pp. 94, 12, 25, respectively.

men he ranked among the most learned of mankind, rarely yielding the first place to any." [1]

The envious, indeed, declared that he intended all men to recognize his superiority; that in this as in all other respects he was greedy of fame, however stoutly he struggled to conceal this his passion for approbation; that he nourished secretly bitter anger against his literary rivals.[2] It is surely to an Emperor's credit that he should make the effort to hide his feelings and to this extent to mortify his cherished desire that men should recognize him as " the most eminent living scholar ". Valentinian presently was afflicted by the same engaging ambition.[3]

However anxious his jealousy, Hadrian at least surrounded himself with literary men and artists of every kind, those who were the most famous of the day. He founded at Rome the Athenæum, where rhetoricians and poets gave recitations of their works, a use which this Institution long retained.[4] At times the Prince would poke fun at the pretensions of the throng, or ply them, philosophers, professors, poets, all alike with questions innumerable. At Alexandria he had himself furnished the answers of his questions to the professors of the Museum.[5] Such Imperial learning must also have been displayed at Rome. If he found any intellectually unfit for their posts in his judgment, he dismissed them, with the temporary consolation of a handsome douceur.

Among Hadrian's own numerous writings, which were both in Greek and in Latin, in prose and in verse, there was a work on Grammar, consisting of two books certainly, if not more. One melancholy fragment of this alone survives, and that because the Emperor's opinion concerning the word " obiter " was unblushingly opposed to that of the learned grammarian Terentius Scaurus.[6] This same question of the proper use of words concerned another savant, Favorinus of Arles. He graciously conceded to Hadrian on one occasion that he himself had used a word wrongly. His friends remonstrated with him, when he left the Presence. " You know," said they, " that it is found in quite good authors." Favorinus burst into a giant laugh. " The Lord of thirty legions, my friends," he said, " must be allowed to know better." The Arlesian scholar was in fact of a cringing disposition. He enjoyed some special exemption from taxation and was afraid of losing this. " He counted it," he once remarked, " one of the three paradoxes of his life that he had ventured to

[1] Treb. Pollio, Vit. Gallieni II, 3, 4. [2] Epit. § 6; Dio 69, 3, 2, 3.
[3] Amm. Marcell. XXX, 8, 10.
[4] Victor, Caes. 14, 2; Lampridius, Vit. Alex. Sev. 35, 2; Vit. Pertin. 11, 3; Vit. Gord. 3, 4.
[5] *Vita* 15, 10, 11; 16, 8-9. See above, p. 129.
[6] Charisius I, 209, 12. Cf. Schanz III, p. 10.

differ from the Monarch and yet found himself still alive." "This," ventures his honest biographer, "redounds in my opinion rather to Hadrian's credit than to his own." [1] But in fact the Emperor was generous of gift (as well as of life!) to all his literary circle. The professors went away happy and rich.[2] Hadrian was "the first Prince since Claudius to take a serious interest in literature".[3] And this led the scornful and narrow-minded Emperor Julian to introduce him in Heaven as "a sophist".

The Emperor's own literary taste was archaistic. He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, Coelius Antipater to Sallust. Such flaws in appreciation might seem venial. But when he ranked the tedious and verbose epic, the Thebais of Antimachus, above Homer, it is time seriously to deplore the fact. "His æsthetic judgment," writes a German sorrowfully, "was not sound. Such bad taste is a clear symptom of a disordered Spirit." [4] This same perturbed Spirit it was which caused the martyrdom of Bishop Telesphorus.[5] Equally lamentable, and mythical perhaps, were its divers operations.

Of Hadrian's own original works, a few trifles only have come down to us, keeping afloat, as an old writer put it, on the surface of the sea of time when other weightier matter has long since sunk for ever. His prose writings are completely lost. Among these the most welcome would have been the Imperial Autobiography, of which the ancient biographer made some meagre use.[6] Another work (whether in prose or in verse is uncertain) rejoiced in the "monstrous title" [7] of "Catachannae". This was a country term for a tree upon which all manner of alien stocks had been grafted. The author must have employed it as signifying a medley of good things. But every fragment of this "most obscure" Miscellany, this Orchard of literature, fruit of a long life, has perished.[8] The same fate has overtaken the Hymns which Hadrian wrote in honour of the memory of Plotina.[9]

All that to-day remains to demonstrate the Emperor's literary craftsmanship are a few short specimens of Greek and Latin verse which have at least been ascribed to his authorship. With one quite extraordinary exception these are mediocre and prosaic, yet respectable effusions by a minor poet who was not seeking notoriety by turgidity or freakishness, or by Cubist, post-Jazz, or psycho-analytical versification, but found a subject or two

[1] Dio 69, 3, 6; 4, 1; *Vita* 15, 12, 13; 16, 10. Philostratus, Vit. Soph., p. 489.
[2] *Vita* 16, 8, 9.
[3] Friedländer IV, p. 314.
[4] Dio 69, 4, 6; *Vita* 16, 6; Schanz III, p. 8.
[5] Lightfoot. See above, p. 227, note 5.
[6] See Appendix A.
[7] *Vita* 16, 2; Schanz III, p. 10.
[8] The word is explained by Fronto, ed. Naber, pp. 35 N. and 155. Bernhardy and Ribbeck think the work was in verse. There is no telling.
[9] Dio 69, 10, 3.

which he sought to handle briefly, neatly, and effectively. The verses to Eros at Thespiae and the two epitaphs on the Batavian soldier and the horse Borysthenes have been already given.[1] Some Greek lines written for a statue of Lucius Catilius Severus at Ephesus,[2] and for the tomb of Arete, wife of the elegiac poet Parthenius, who taught Virgil Greek, are heavy efforts. It was a kindlier act when the Emperor had the ruined tomb restored.[3]

The Imperial poet was perhaps happier in lighter mood. The lascivious verses, of which he wrote a great number, have every one of them perished. His own Latin pentameter which he wrote for the tomb of his poetical friend Voconius must serve as his own apology for these :

"Lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras."[4]

Martial's own generation may be left to provide the antidote for its own poison. "Wanton in your verses, modest in your mind" is well enough if the verses die with the mind. Some, unlike Hadrian's, have a trick of survival, and then the apology is inadequate. Lubricity in literature is not always as ephemeral as Pleasure in the Judgment of Hercules :

"Fantastic Power! whose transient charms allur'd,
While error's mist the reasoning mind obscur'd."

Hadrian's Greek epigram on Archilochus is slight enough :

"Here lies Archilochus : the Muse loved Homer well
Who led his rival captive to the mad iamb's spell."[5]

The Emperor's facility, already mentioned, in "capping" verses is still illustrated by one example in Greek and a second in Latin.

There came to him one day a withered old pedant seeking alms by means of a distich of a quite intolerable jangle :

"A half o' me 's already dead, a half is hungry, very!
Save thou this thing, a broken string, my King, or me they bury."

Hadrian, his sensitive ear outraged and with a keen sense of the absurdity of the "broken string" metaphor, replied unkindly :

"The shades of night, the sun's bright light, both scurvily thou treatest :
Thou dost not shun to see the one, the other yet thou cheatest."[6]

A direct and also jangling invitation to the beggar to go to—his own place.

Far worse poetry, and better known, is the Emperor's Latin repartee to a sally of the poet Publius Annius Florus.

[1] See above, pp. 16, 174, 17, respectively.
[2] Kaibel, Epig. Graec. 888, 2.
[3] Ib. 1089.
[4] Apuleuis, Apol. II.
[5] Anthol. Palat. 674.
[6] Ib. IX, 137.

Florus was critic, historian, and bard at one and the same time.[1] He was an African by birth and had travelled widely before he settled down to a peaceful life at Tarraco. There are about thirty lines of his poetry surviving, none of any great merit. Yet the claim has been made for him that he was the author of the Spring Song, the Pervigilium Veneris, with its haunting refrain,—the song of the lads on Arno's bank at Pisa :

" Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet "—

or, as I may dare to render it,

" He shall love upon the morrow love who never yet hath known,
And the lover who hath known love on the morrow love shall own."

Were this surely Florus' poem, he would be dear to our hearts as " Flavian," and Hadrian's reign would be famous in the history of Latin literature for a second poem.[2] But this most wonderful of Latin songs keeps the secret of its dead author.

In his latter years Florus came to Rome, to enjoy life under Hadrian in the gay capital. Remembering the discomforts of his own travels, the poet sent to the Emperor three or four wretched little lines of supposed verse :

" Caesar would I never be,
Now atramp in Germany,
Skulking now in Britain he,
Or in Scythia's misery."

The Emperor promptly replied in like measure to the poet :

" Florus would I never be,
Now atramp in taverns he,
Skulking now in cookshops see,
Victim of the midges' glee." [3]

And time has thought fit to preserve this fatuous exchange of complimentary abuse !

There are two other *jeux d'esprit* in the Latin Anthology which

[1] Accepting Schanz's identification of the three (III, pp. 56-65).

[2] This is the view of Ribbeck and others, one of whom even dares to date it precisely on April 6, A.D. 123 ! But it is generally denied. Cf. Schanz pp. 61-62, who ponderously calls the poem " affected " ! We may leave it hopefully to the boy poet Flavian, the comrade of " Marius the Epicurean ".

[3] *Vita* 16, 3, 4. There is a terrible version by Hodgkin ap. Gregorovius p. 274. " Feel the bossy bowl assail me " (" calices " for " culices ") is shiver-producing. The lilt of the Latin, such as it is, requires rhyme as well as rhythm in English. The well-known trouble is that we have only three lines by Florus and four by Hadrian. The remedy is obvious, either to invent another line for Florus (as Bury) or to cancel one of Hadrian's. Germans therefore quarrel as to which of the four precious lines shall be sacrificed.

reveal Hadrian in the same humorous mood.[1] The "comic idea" in both is to get the same three proper names into every one of the hexameter lines, the whole being an effort in mock heroics. The translator cannot use the actual Latin names with any comfort. A still more frivolous paraphrase may be attempted:

"'Twas Brown, and Jones, and also Smith, who sallied out to fight;
Brown in a cap, and Jones without, but Smith with bowler dight.
Brown Ealing owned, but Putney Jones, while Smith knew Primrose Hill;
Smith was not well, nor Jones robust, and Brown was slightly ill.
Jones rose at six, and Brown at five, but Smith at half past eight;
Jones' love was Mary, Ethel Brown's, and Smith was fond of Kate.
Brown hit a boy, and Smith a lad, while Jones he struck a child,
For Brown was cautious, Smith not bold, and Jones was more than mild.
Now earth the bodies doth contain of Brown, and Jones, and Smith.
Jones leaves no heir, and Smith no kin, while Brown he leaves no kith."

Such are the Emperor Hadrian's contributions to extant classical literature. His example is said to have made poetry a craze at Court. Greek versifying in particular became "a fashionable affectation among the sprightlier wits".[2] Aelius Verus, Hadrian's first choice for heir, loved verse-making.[3] The younger Verus, the colleague of Marcus Aurelius, practised poetry from boyhood. "He was a better orator than poet, or rather, a worse poet than he was speaker," says his biographer unkindly.[4] Marcus Aurelius himself did not disdain to write hexameters in his youth. Yet this poor boy who was given seventeen tutors, namely four orators, four grammarians, one jurist, and eight philosophers (!), was allowed no instructor among them all in poesy. Despite which niggardliness, the lad "knew the whole of poetry".[5]

Whether Hadrian, either as poet himself or as patron, did valuable service to Letters may be questioned. Certainly poetical inspiration was lacking in his day. No creative spirit moved upon the face of the waters to trouble the placid languorous current of the life and thought of Imperial Rome under this cultured Prince. In earlier days, Rome's immortal poets had been begotten of civil strife or of the peace which followed hard upon the devastation of war. England's yet greater poetry proves by contrast that there is no law of external circumstances for genius. But no second Virgil or Horace (how impossible the thought!), no new Persius or Statius even, gave glory to the Age of Hadrian or of Pius.

[1] Anth. Lat. ed. Bücheler, 392, 393 = Bährens, Poet. Lat. min. 123, 124. One of the two is ascribed also variously to Ovid!, to Nero!!, and to Trajan!!!

[2] Pater, "Marius," p. 95.

[3] *Vita Hel.* 5, 2.

[4] *Vita Veri*, 2, 7.

[5] *Vita Marci* 2.

Yet for one rare moment the Muse of Poetry touched Hadrian the Emperor himself with her finger.

In that hour when all the lustre and the triumph and the pleasure of the world were vanishing away before his dying gaze, in the last moments of long drawn-out pain, weakness, and loneliness when he beheld tardy death standing at last beside his bed, the very pathos of the futility of human life inspired Hadrian to the writing of those five lines of purest and most simple music of language which have themselves remained immortal, eternal alike for their fragile slender grace as for their sorrowful vain questioning into the unknown. No alien tongue can ever render the haunting melody, the plaintive delicacy of the Latin, most musical and incomparable of languages:

" Animula vagula blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quae nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos ? "

Must a version be given ?—

" Little tender wand'ring soul,
Body's guest and comrade thou,
To what bourne, all bare and pale,
Wilt thou be a'faring now,
All the merry jest and play
Thou so lovest put away ? "

Or, keeping the five line stanza of the Latin—" The dying Emperor to his soul ":

" Pretty little wandering sprite,
Thou the body's comrade hight,
To what places wilt thou fare now,
Pale and rigid thou and bare now,
Jests no longer thy delight ? " [1]

This is no " Lord of thirty legions," but just an ailing child, looking wistfully after his darling toys, now for ever put aside, hardly fearful, yet doubtfully asking, of his journey into the unknown to-morrow.

§ 3. Hadrian's Buildings

" You may see memorials of his journeys," wrote Fronto to Marcus Aurelius his pupil concerning Hadrian, " in most of the cities of Asia and of Europe ".[2] Hadrian " built something in almost every city ".[3]

[1] *Vita* 25, 9. For other versions, etc., see Note at end of the chapter.
[2] Princ. Hist. ed. Naber, p. 206.
[3] *Vita* 19, 2 ; cf. Dio 69, 5, 3.

Can anything be more dull (unless it be a history of philosophy) than written descriptions of many buildings? One specimen paragraph concerning the Temple of Venus and Rome may exonerate the omission of any others of the kind:

"It was surrounded by a decastyle colonnade, whose columns were of Pentelic marble, and consisted of two cellae, each with a front of four columns in antis, built back to back. The interior side walls were broken by niches alternately semi-circular and rectangular in plan, between which were monolithic columns of porphyry and granite, while the seated images of Venus and Rome occupied apsidal niches facing the entrances." [1]

Something has been said of Hadrian's buildings in Athens.[2] But, as was wholly right, his generosity spent itself most lavishly upon Rome, the capital of the world. Most of his work here too has perished, but some remains, put to uses other than those planned for it by the Imperial builder. In the first flash of memory which the name Rome kindles for those who know the city, it is not Forum or Palatine which come unbidden before the sight, not Museum of the Capitol or Palace of the Quirinal, no, not even Vatican or Coliseum. Just two buildings rise at once before the mind's eye, Saint Peter's Dome and the Castle of Saint Angelo where yellow Tiber comes curving round. This second building is Hadrian's work. So also is the great Rotunda of the Pantheon in the Piazza of Minerva, even though, by Hadrian's generous wish, it still bears the name of Agrippa, the builder of the earlier temple on the site which Hadrian's work replaced.[3] But the rest of the Emperor's buildings in Rome lie now in ruins.

He himself was fain to be considered as an architect, and one of no mean ability.[4] In this claim he had, Emperor though he was, to bear the brunt of expert professional criticism. The most

[1] Long, elaborate, and technical descriptions of the buildings mentioned in this section are to be found in J. H. Middleton, "Ancient Rome"; R. Lanciani, "Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome"; and H. Stuart Jones, "Companion to Roman History" (a stodgy comrade), as follows:

Temple of Venus and Rome: M. II, 219-224; L. 196-198; J. 86.

Pantheon: L. 480-487; J. 92-95.

Pons Aelius and Mausoleum (S. Angelo) M. II, 292-298; L. 554 sq.; J. 78 and 194.

Basilica Neptuni: L. 489-492.

Hadrian's palace on the Palatine: M. I, 212-215; J. 168.

Tibur Villa: J. 176-180 (with ground plan). Cf. Burn, "Ancient Rome," 266-270; Hirschfeld ap. "Klio," II, 68-69, and a somewhat verbose account in Gregorovius, 367-372.

The *Vita* 19 gives just a bare list of Hadrian's buildings and restorations in Rome.

[2] See above, pp. 113-121.

[3] *Vita* 19, 9, 10. Trajan certainly had not set the example of this particular form of generosity. Cf. Reid, "Municipalities," p. 495. Yet it is Hadrian who is constantly accused of jealousy.

[4] In spite of the maxim "De gustibus," which is applicable even in architecture, the complacent professor to-day damns Hadrian with the faint praise of his "considerable ingenuity but doubtful taste".

renowned of all architects of the day was Apollodorus of Damascus, the designer in A.D. 112-114 of Trajan's Forum and the buildings in it, who, twenty years later, was still alive. Hadrian himself had drawn the plans for a new temple, the largest of all the temples of Rome, that of Venus and Rome, or the " Temple of the City," as it was also called. This stood hard by the Sacred Way, on the left hand as you go up from the Forum to the Coliseum. The Emperor sent his plan for the massive structure and the colossal statues in it to Apollodorus. The professional wrote back sharply to the Imperial amateur. Hadrian's building, said Apollodorus, was squat and badly placed, and the statues were far too large for it. " Should the Goddesses wish to rise and go out, they will not be able." Hadrian, however angry, profited by the criticism and recast his design accordingly.

Inevitably the chronicler repeats the rumour that the critic suffered death for his temerity.[1] It was but the closing episode of an old grudge, said scandal, which Hadrian cherished against the architect. For on a day long before, the Emperor Trajan had been talking with Apollodorus about the works in progress when Hadrian, who was standing by, offered his own opinion unasked and " off the point ". Apollodorus turned wrathfully upon him. " Get you gone ! " cried the angry architect, " go and paint your pumpkins ; of these matters you know nothing whatever." For it so chanced, continues the narrator, that Hadrian at this time was priding himself on his painting. He never forgot or forgave the insult. When Emperor, he first exiled Apollodorus, and later did him to death for the criticism which he passed upon the Temple of the City.

Now this temple took many years to build. It may not have been dedicated until April 21, A.D. 135, on the " birthday " of Rome. The incident of the criticism passed upon its earliest design must have been over and done with long ago. Yet it was but two years before the dedication that the Emperor had obtained from Apollodorus some valuable hints on siege fortifications for his use in the Jewish war. He would not have written to an exile for these, neither would he earlier have submitted his own architectural drawings to an exile. The whole tale of Hadrian's jealousy and Apollodorus' fate is sheer silly scandal.

The restoration of earlier buildings went on busily in Rome under Hadrian. Among these were many temples, the Baths of Agrippa, the Basilica Neptuni, with the " Portico of the Argonauts," also built by Agrippa in the Campus Martius in 26 B.C. to commemorate his naval victories, and the Auguratum. This last was the elevated platform on the Palatine hill from which the

[1] Dio 69, 4, 1-5, criticized successfully by Plew, pp. 89-97.

augurs of Imperial times observed the heavens. Hadrian "restored" it in A.D. 136.[1] Another work of the Emperor's, and it caused some excitement, was the removal of the colossal statue of Nero, which stood 99 feet high, from its old position on the intended site of the new temple of Venus and Rome to one nearer the Coliseum. The Colossus suffered other mishandling. Nero's head was taken off its shoulders and replaced by that of the Sun God, to whom Hadrian consecrated it. The shifting of the huge thing was accomplished, under the supervision of a specially summoned architect, one Decrianus or Demetrianus, by 24 elephants.

> "Now Nero's pride its final eve survey'd,
> Its fame exhausted and its head a'fire;
> Patient the Grecian's lurid frown obey'd,
> And saw th' unwilling elephants perspire." [2]

Apollodorus was commanded by Hadrian (the envious!) to fashion a sister Colossus of the Moon.[3]

The Pantheon, which has so gloriously survived

> "The floods of Tiber and the strokes of Time,"

was built, Rotunda and Portico alike, by Hadrian early in his reign, in the years A.D. 120-124. This building, "disegno angelico e non umano" as Michael Angelo called it, wherein Raphael was interred on Easter Eve A.D. 1520, shared the fate of many other noble relics of antiquity which suffered grievously at the hands of vandal or impecunious Popes. Urban VIII in A.D. 1625, wanting bronze for cannon, stripped it of its roof for this most Christian purpose. A pious eyewitness applauds the act:

"Our good Pontiff could not bear the idea that such a mass of metal, designed for loftier purposes, should humble itself to the office of keeping off for ever the rain from the Portico of the Pantheon. He raised it to worthier destinies, because it is becoming that such noble material should keep off the enemies of the Church rather than the rain." [4]

The height from which the bronze had to be torn evidently prompts the skilful language of the papal champion.

Urban was but following an example set by earlier Popes. On the roof of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome the famous gilded bronze tiles had glittered for five centuries before Honorius I, attracted by their sheen, stripped them off to roof Saint Peter's

[1] C.I.L. VI, 976.
[2] To parody (if it were really possible!), Shenstone, Eleg. 19.
[3] *Vita* 19, 11-13. Cf. Lanciani, op. cit., p. 192.
[4] Giano Nicio Eritreo ap. Lanciani p. 485.

Church. In due course the Saracens gleefully stole them thence and avenged the Roman Emperor.

Upon his last return to Rome from the Jewish war Hadrian built a great new bridge in A.D. 134, the Pons Aelius,[1] which led over the Tiber from the Campus Martius to the " Gardens of Nero " in the Campus Vaticanus. And here in the Gardens he began to build that sturdy mass, the Mausoleum, which his successor finished in A.D. 139.

In the central vaulted chamber of this Mausoleum there rested presently his own sarcophagus, and the remains of many another member of the Imperial families of the second century of our era. Lucius Aelius Caesar, Antoninus Pius and three of his children, Faustina, Lucius Verus, Commodus and three other children of Marcus Aurelius, and probably the Stoic Emperor himself all have here their last abiding place.[2] Once the building was bright with a casing of white Parian marble. Row upon row of statues of marble and of gilded bronze, columns of coloured Oriental marbles and porphyry decorated it. The whole was crowned with a colossal figure of Hadrian himself in a four-horse chariot. Only the stone and concrete core of the huge building now are left. Alike in shape and in conception it was wholly Roman, and the English poet when he seeks for its original in Egypt adds to it nothing of interest :

" Turn to the Mole which Hadrian reared on high,
Imperial mimic of old Egypt's piles,
Colossal copyist of deformity,
Whose travelled phantasy from the far Nile's
Enormous model, doomed the artist's toils
To build for Giants, and for his vain earth,
His shrunken ashes, raise this Dome : How smiles
The gazer's eye with philosophic mirth
To view the huge design which sprung from such a birth ! " [3]

It was with mirth other than philosophic that Alaric and his Goths first rifled it in A.D. 410. Some few years later, Belisarius converted it into a fortress, of which in after time Pope Clement and his trusty artist gunner, Benvenuto Cellini, had some passing joy.

It is to Gregory the Great that the Mausoleum owes the name which has consecrated it for more than thirteen hundred years, that of the " Castle of Saint Angelo ". In A.D. 589-590 the bubonic plague ravaged Rome with incredible fury. The then Pope died in February of the latter year and Gregory was elected in his

[1] C.I.L. VI, 973.

[2] Cf. the " Tituli Mausolei Hadriani " ap. C.I.L. VI, 984-995 and p. 186.

[3] Byron, " Childe Harold," IV, 152. The poet excels his own enthusiasm concerning the Pantheon. Cf. IV, 146.

place. Through the dim twilight of the 25th of April following there moved a wailing penitential procession slowly across the Aelian Bridge, "death keeping step with the moving crowds". Then as Pope Gregory passed before the ruined Mausoleum, he saw upon its height Michael the Archangel of God sheathing his flaming sword. And the plague was stayed among them.

Thus the Imperial Tomb became the shrine of "Sanctus Angelus inter rubes," the Castle of Saint Angelo, and upon it the carven figure of the Destroying Angel takes Hadrian the Emperor's place.[1]

There is one last "monument" of Hadrian, which displays the Emperor almost in a summary of his complex character, as traveller, as Hellenist, as patron of art and architecture, as lover of nature and of her fairest scenes.

Where the Sabine hill country—that country of a beauty well nigh unbearable in the mere reminiscence of the wanderer with staff and scrip—where this hill country breaks down at last towards the Roman plain, hard by Tivoli, city of shrines and waterfalls, guarding the gate of Paradise, the Anio valley, the Emperor built for himself a palace of delight.

Soon after his accession he had begun the plan of his Tibur Villa. On his last return to Rome the scheme was carried through and finished. And here, surrounded by every alluring charm of nature and of art, the ageing Prince spent great part of his last few years of life. When Travel-Days are over, there is an after-taste of joy in every happy memory of past wanderings. A scent, a name, a sound, a word, recalls them. Here in his Tibur villa Hadrian would revive again the recollection of past days. If scandal accompanied him hither, as she had envenomed in like manner the last resting days of Tiberius on Capri, fairest of Italy's islands, this was the price a Roman Emperor must pay for evening hours of peace.[2]

The "Villa" was far more than a mere country house. It was an estate, seven miles in circumference, and "an Art-World in itself".[3] Once its chambers, halls, corridors, garden walks, and groves, were adorned with statues and reliefs innumerable which now are scattered in chill exile through the Galleries, Museums, and private Collections of Europe. The main palace building was set upon a ridge between two little valleys, whose streams flow down to join the Anio. Encompassed by the hills to shelter it on north and east, the Villa proper looked westwards over the great plain towards Rome's towers and the distant sea.

[1] See Dudden, "S. Gregory," pp. 212-220. Cf. Gibbon, Chapter XLIII; Middleton, II, 292-298. The legend goes back at least to the tenth century (Dudden). There is no reason to doubt the fact of the Pope's vision. The present statue dates from 1740.

[2] The curious may consult the ancient writers. [3] Friedländer.

In the grounds were theatres, baths, porticos, temples, every building of fancy and delight. There the "bizarre"[1] taste of the traveller had placed copies of buildings seen in Greece and Egypt; in the one valley lay "Thessalian Tempe"; beyond the ridge in its sister vale was Alexandria's "Canopus". Models of Athens' glories, Lyceum, Academy, Prytaneum, Painted Colonnade, adorned here the alien soil of Latium. And in quaintest antiquarianism or with gruesome curiosity, yet consonant with Roman taste, there was wrought here some fashioning of the Shadow-World beyond the grave, perchance only that Emperor and pleasure-seekers from the Court might walk here with Odysseus or Aeneas in the shades, perchance for graver reason.[2]

"I built my soul a lordly pleasure-house,
Wherein at ease for aye to dwell.
I said, 'O Soul, make merry and carouse,
Dear Soul, for all is well.'

. . . . . .

And round the cool green courts there ran a row
Of cloisters, branch'd like mighty woods,
Echoing all night to that sonorous flow
Of spouted fountain-floods.

And round the roofs a gilded gallery
That lent broad verge to distant lands,
Far as the wild swan wings, to where the sky
Dipt down to sea and sands."

There was a Pope in olden days who made his melancholy lament over the ruins of Hadrian's pleasure-house:

"Time has disfigured everything. Ivy now covers the walls in place of paintings and gold-embroidered tapestries. In the seats where of old sate Senators clad in togas of purple grow thorns and brambles, and serpents make their lair in the bed-chamber of the Empress. So perishes all earthly, swept away by the stream of years."[3]

A few grass-covered foundations, fragments of ruined wall, some scattered broken stones, these, and with them the unchanging incomparable landscape view, alone remain of the former glories of Hadrian's Palace of Delight. Yet why should present enjoyment take heed of the ravages of time to come, of the chances and threatenings of posterity?

[1] The prosaic Schanz.

[2] *Vita* 26, 5: almost certainly *not* a picture merely. Somewhat akin is Hadrian's supposed introduction of the Eleusinian Mysteries at Rome—a tale which rests only on the worthless authority of Victor (Caesares, 14, 1-4).

[3] Pope Pius II ap. Gregorovius, true and trite, yet with a picturesqueness of its own,

REMAINS OF 'HADRIAN'S VILLA' NEAR TIVOLI

NOTE

" Animula vagula blandula "

In the text I have chosen to venture a choice of versions of my own. Three others may be given here.

Byron, aged 19, attempted it in 1806 :

" Ah ! gentle fleeting wav'ring Sprite,
Friend and associate of this clay,
To what unknown region borne
Wilt thou, now, wing thy distant flight ?
No more, with wonted humour gay,
But pallid, cheerless, and forlorn."

Merivale essayed a version :

" Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away,
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one,
Never to play again, never to play ? "

In both of these versions the word " clay " is intolerable, an affectation in the English wholly absent from the Latin. Merivale's fourth line also comes perilously near the grotesque—lest the arithmetical enumeration make a cold and shivering Trinity.

Prior's imitation is a well-known masterpiece, but is of course an expansion rather than a translation :

" Poor little, pretty, fluttering thing,
Must we no longer live together,
And dost thou prune thy trembling wing
To take thy flight, thou know'st not whither ?
Thy humourous vein, thy pleasing folly,
Lies all neglected, all forgot ;
And pensive, wavering, melancholy,
Thou dread'st and hop'st thou know'st not what."

It is the liquids which form an immeasurable part of the charm of the Latin poem's mere language—apart from sentiment or pathos altogether—and which make the translator's task so baffling. Contrast the hideous noisy monosyllable in what is supposed to be yet another reminiscence of the Latin poem, Pope's " Vital *spark* of heavenly flame ". Could sound be more fatally barbaric ?

That the sentiment is, in essence, pathetic (with no fallacy attached to it) is, so far as I know, a view challenged by few, among whom comes another, and the most priceless of, eighteenth century poets :

" Yes—the fair prospect of surviving praise
Can every sense of present joys excel :
For this, great Hadrian chose laborious days ;
Through this, expiring, bade a gay farewell."

If Shenstone had devoted a stanza to the Tibur Villa, might he not even have attained beyond his own high-water mark? :

> " So first when Phoebus met the Cyprian queen,
> And favour'd Rhodes beheld their passion crown'd,
> Unusual flowers enrich'd the painted green ;
> And swift spontaneous roses blush'd around."

This *is* Shenstone, and not U.S.A. Why should Rhodes have what Tibur sorely misses? We are reduced to Tennyson, who surely knew his Italy.

CHAPTER XV

THE CLOSING SCENES

§ 1. The end of Servianus.
§ 2. The choice of an heir.
§ 3. The death of Hadrian.
§ 4. Personalia.
§ 5. Conclusion.

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. The End of Servianus

EITHER towards the end of the year A.D. 135 or in the spring months of the following year Hadrian fell ill of the long wasting disease which, after more than two years of suffering, caused his death in the summer of A.D. 138. Some earlier symptoms perhaps had brought him back to Rome before the Jewish war was finished. It had not been his wont to leave undone any task to which he set his hand.

And now ill-health, possibly also his loneliness since Antinous' death, and certainly his knowledge of the needs of the State, all impelled the Emperor to the resolution that he must find and adopt a successor. He had no son of his own. Nearest to him in relationship stood a grandson of the old consular, Servianus. The latter had married Hadrian's own sister. The grandson, Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, who in A.D. 136 was a lad some eighteen years old, was the son of Julia, daughter and only child of Servianus and Domitia Paulina. This Julia had married one Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator. Fuscus was thus actually grand-nephew to Hadrian, and his only living blood-relation. Nevertheless the Emperor passed him over. He may have thought that the Empire needed for its ruler a man of riper years and experience than this youth. To place upon the throne of the Caesars one little more than a mere boy in years under the tutelage of an aged grandfather was too dangerous an experiment. The Empire had in the past had small joy of its two youthful princes, Caligula and Nero.

The choice of an heir, however, was likely to be all the more troublesome. And when once it became known that Hadrian was considering the problem, rumour and scandal together began to make men's tongues wag merrily. At dinner one day the Emperor asked his guests to name ten men "worthy to be Emperor". When all doubtfully kept silence, "Say nine then," he said laughingly, "for there is always Servianus".[1] It was an unfortunate jest, whether spoken on the spur of the moment as gibe or as compliment to the old man. It may have caused him

[1] Dio 69, 17, 3.

to indulge in foolish hopes. More probably it set afloat stupid rumours. For Servianus, however robust, was then ninety years of age, " with two feet in the grave ".[1] It passes all belief that Hadrian could ever have thought of him for heir. But gossip at once fastened upon his name. There were however other favourites of rumour, besides Servianus and his grandson. Such were Aulus Platorius Nepos of British fame, and Terentius Gentianus, a prominent Senator.

When in due course Hadrian rejected all of these, men promptly said that his earlier liking for them had turned to loathing. Darker reports soon spread about.

> " How lofty must imagination soar
> To reach absurdities unknown before ! "

Men began to talk of the execution of the four consulars nearly twenty years ago.[2] It was true, they conceded, that since that pitiable day the Emperor had been unswervingly merciful. This clemency, they said darkly, was feigned and unreal. It was but the politic disguise of an innate cruelty. Hadrian's lurking savagery now, at the end of his life, was about to burst its chains. They gave him little credit for having restrained the demon so long and so successfully.[3]

One sheer fact emerges out of all this talk. Both Servianus and the youth Fuscus were put to death. Of cause, time, place, or circumstance nothing more is known. If there were a plot, open or secret, of the old man in his grandson's favour, it may be that a not unmerited vengeance overtook the two.[4] Hadrian's suspicions, again, may have been unfounded if genuine. Those who have endured any persistent torment of pain know how easily a man might be driven by such into an impulsive act of impatient cruelty, and for many months before the end came Hadrian was grievously racked by disease.

But the death of the two victims, innocent or guilty, caused gloom and consternation. Men went whispering how the aged Servianus met his doom with the prayer upon his lips that the Emperor might desire to die and not be able,[5] a curse as effective as any of Gael or Celt. They began to anticipate a reign of terror, Hadrian's sun setting amid lurid blood-red clouds. Many others, said they, were slain secretly, nay, openly. Here were two

[1] Schulz p. 117.

[2] See above, pp. 47-50; cf. *Vita* 23, 7.

[3] Cf. the tale in the *Vita* 17, 1. " When Hadrian became Emperor he took no notice of any who had been his enemies in private life. So much so that meeting one of the chief of these he merely said, 'You have escaped'." For his earlier clemency too, cf. Dio 69, 23, 2, 3.

[4] Bury p. 516, feels driven to this conclusion, which in truth it is hard to avoid. It is curious how very little is heard or said of the younger victim of the tragedy, Fuscus.

[5] Dio 69, 17, 2.

men compelled to suicide, a third thrust out into exile, yet another stripped of his worldly goods. Who could any longer be safe? There was a list of Senators doomed to die, whom Hadrian's successor alone preserved from an untimely fate.[1]

All this was the work of terror and Court gossip. Much may be due to the later and malignant invention of scandal in Senatorial circles, repeated and solemnly believed by the unfailing stupidity of chroniclers and biographers. The "Senatorial Tradition," than which no other has been preserved, certainly disliked Hadrian and strove to blacken his reputation, as it mishandled that of other busy and efficient princes. This too was a usual form of speeding the parting, welcoming the coming, Emperor. Unable also to attack the policy or criticize the administration, the assailants, anonymous and cowardly, slander the private character. It is a trait of envy, not confined to Roman History.

No matter what Hadrian did, or failed or never intended to do, in the last year or two of his life, he was target for the arrows of hate and of suspicion. When he appointed an heir "all disliked it".[2] When this heir died and the Emperor adopted the most estimable of Romans in his stead "very many were angry".[3] Old Servianus in his lifetime had failed to disparage Hadrian in Trajan's eyes. By his death he did much to expose the Emperor to the merciless lying of the next two centuries.[4]

§ 2. The Choice of an Heir

Hadrian's first choice of an adopted son was dictated by affection or admiration, not by policy or wisdom. It was æsthetic, not sagacious. For Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus, who, after his adoption by the Emperor in the summer of A.D. 136 became known as Lucius Aelius (Verus) Caesar,[5] was famous as a

[1] The list of the victims: Polyaenus (?) and Marcellus (? C. Publicius Marcellus legate of Syria in the Jewish war)—suicide (*Vita* 15, 4); Eudaemon, a trusty procurator (cf. Prosop. Imp. Rom. II, p. 41)—beggary (*Vita* 15, 3); Titianus (? T. Atilius Rufus Titianus, consul A.D. 127)—exile (*Vita* 15, 6). A scanty list in truth! But "Pius" had to earn one of the many explanations of his name! Even Pius himself exiled Titianus, his one and only victim! (*Vita Pii* 7, 3).

[2] *Vita* 23, 11.

[3] *Vita* 24, 6.

[4] Evidence for the Servianus story: *Vita* 23, 2-9; Dio 69, 2, 6; 17, 1-3; 23, 2. Eutropius may have some credit for his cautious "non magnam clementiae gloriam tulit" (VIII, 17, 2) under the circumstances. Schulz pp. 117, 118, thinks you may gratify a grudge after nearly forty years. A State may nurse so long resentment—and not without reason—but an individual like Hadrian? It is silly melodrama.

[5] *Vita* 23, 10, 11. His full name Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius ("Helius") Caesar—*Vita Hel.* 6. The precise date of his adoption is uncertain: C.I.L. III, 4366, shows he was "Caesar" in 137, but only Trib. Pot. I then which suggests that the adoption was near Dec. 10, 136. On June 19, 136, he is cos. I still as Commodus (C.I.L. VI, 10242). Alexandrine coins seem to put the adoption before Aug. 29, 136 (cf. Borghesi VIII, 475; Dürr p. 33, N. 128). It is quite possible that he was adopted in July or August, 136,

voluptuary and a libertine as well as for his "royal beauty". His love of literature and his easy good nature won him smaller notoriety than did these his more dubious qualities.[1] Renowned was his bed of four great cushions, surrounded with gauze network, strewn with rose leaves and coverlet of lilies, upon which the favourite, "reeking Persian odours," took his leisure, lazily holding Ovid's "Amores" in his languid hand. The licentious Martial was his Virgil. To his boy messengers, winged like Cupids, he gave the names of the winds, and the poor small urchins, "Boreas," "Notus," "Aquilo," and the rest, were made to emulate their namesakes' swiftness. Their "inhuman" master expected them to run tirelessly at top speed on his errands. His reply to the complaints of his wife was more direct than urbane. "These things," comments the ancient biographer, "were indeed improper, yet they meant no ruin to the State."

"L'aurore de la vie
Appartient aux Amours."

But the early hours of Aelius' manhood faded away into nothingness, and the State had no chance of considering the relation between public welfare and private morality. For the Caesar was physically but a weakling.

Hadrian indeed was minded to train his son in sterner duties and less voluptuous ways, to test him for qualities which he had not hitherto displayed. On the occasion of his adoption of Commodus, the Emperor gave to the Roman people lavish gifts and shows, but to the heir a praetorship and a provincial governorship in Pannonia. The Danube frontier was, as in his own case, to be the "military and administrative school for princes".[2] And from this test in true Roman fashion this pleasure-seeker, this second Otho, emerged with such credit as might seem to justify Hadrian's choice of him after all.[3] Yet he was but a few months in Pannonia, and when he returned to Rome Aelius Verus was a dying man. Symptoms of phthisis, already earlier observed,[4] rapidly developed.

Hadrian was intensely chagrined. Bitter words escaped him. "I have adopted a God," he said, "not a son." "We prop ourselves against a tottering wall." But when a rash prefect

and waited for his Trib. Pot. until the normal date, Dec. 10, as Hadrian quite definitely refused to make him "partner in the Empire". The title "Caesar" is now significant as = heir apparent. Cf. Bury p. 516, and *Vita Hel.* 2, 1-2.

[1] *Vita Hel.* 5, 1-11. [2] Schiller p. 626.

[3] *Vita Hel.* 3, 6. Verus in Pannonia was assisted by T. Statilius Maximus "juridicus pr. pr. utriusque Pannoniae" (Hirschfeld ap. Eph. Epig. IV, 125, n. 425). For Otho as a more famous example of the "ἀρχὴ ἀνδρὰ δείξει," see my "Civil War and Rebellion," p. 14.

[4] Dio 69, 17, 1.

who overheard the lament repeated it to the dying prince, the Emperor's anger was fierce. He cashiered the prefect immediately, hoping thereby to encourage the invalid whose health suffered still more from the anxiety caused him by the erring official's thoughtlessness. Hadrian in this as in other ways showed his affection for Verus.[1] But it was all of no avail. Upon January 1, A.D. 138, the Caesar was to deliver an oration of thanks and compliment to the Emperor. The speech, " a very beautiful one," was actually written and was later published, but it was never spoken. In the early hours of that same New Year's Day Aelius Verus died of a haemorrhage in his sleep.[2]

" His only royalty was the magnificence of his funeral." [3] His ashes were placed in Hadrian's new Mausoleum, and the Emperor gave orders for the erection of temples and of statues in his dead son's honour " throughout the world ".[4] As a last tribute to the prince, Hadrian resolved that the boy whom he left behind him should in due course fill his father's place.

But in January A.D. 138, this boy, Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus (the name Aelius he took at Hadrian's special bidding), who is known more simply as Lucius Verus, was a golden-haired, merry, athletic child just 11 years of age.[5] Some one older must be found, and found speedily, to take the name and rank of " Caesar ".

And now Hadrian's judgment was sound enough. Already, in fact, before Aelius Verus died, he had selected his successor.[6] On the last birthday of his own life, January 24, A.D. 138, Hadrian, then 62 years old, recommended to the Senate, and a month later, on February 25, formally adopted as his son, a man of fine stature and presence, of proved public service and untarnished morals, " a senator blameless in all the offices of life," [7] then 51 years of age. This was Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antoninus, who had been born at Lanuvium on September 19, A.D. 86. He was of excellent stock on both sides, a true Roman of the old stamp in his simplicity (despite his wealth), his integrity, his modesty, his love for agriculture. Hadrian had already employed him as one of his four Circuit-Judges in Italy,[8] and as governor of Asia. The Emperor respected and honoured him as did all others who ever came to know him. Of his nickname Pius many explanations became current.[9] Some were

[1] *Vita Hel.* 6, 1-6 : other stories in this same " Life," 4, 1-6, and (more cynical) 3, 7-8.
[2] *Vita* 23, 16 ; Dio 69, 20, 1 ; *Vita Hel.* 4, 8.
[3] *Vita Hel.* 6, 6.
[4] C.I.L. VI, 985 ; *Vita Hel.* 7, 1-2. A. Jackel ap. " Klio " XII, 121-123, opines that the biographer has confused " Aelius " with the Sun-God ἥλιος ! !
[5] Born Dec. 15, 126.
[6] *Vita Hel.* 6, 7, in preference to the common tale ap. *Vita* 24, 3, etc.
[7] Gibbon.
[8] See above, p. 186.
[9] At least six. Cf. *Vita Heliogab.* 7 ; *Vita* 24, 4 ; 25 8 ; 27, 4 ; *Vita Pii* 2, 3, 4 ; 4, 1 ; Dio 70, 2 ; and the ridiculous Victor, Caesares 14, 12-14.

childish or absurd. He was seen by Hadrian, ran one story, while he was supporting the failing steps of his aged father-in-law in public, and at once the admiring Emperor determined to adopt so pious a son-in-law as heir. The biographer is a little sceptical. "Pius would have been impious if he had failed to do this," he comments. Or again, he saved the doomed Senators from Hadrian's smouldering wrath and so earned his title. These are fanciful and babyish opinions.

But however he came by his distinctive name, as the Emperor Antoninus Pius, he has left behind him a reputation as blameless as a Parsefal and one far more sensible. His own Romans loved to compare him to their priest-king of legend, Numa Pompilius, the holy lawgiver of earliest times.[1] Yet "Numa could only prevent a few neighbouring villages from plundering each other's harvests. Antoninus diffused order and tranquillity over the greatest part of the earth." [2] "Hadrian I venerated as a God, but I dared not love him"—so wrote the sage Cornelius Fronto later to Marcus Aurelius—"Antoninus I love, I worship, as my Sun, my Day, my Life, my very Soul. I feel that I am loved myself by him." [3] And the rhetorician's enthusiasm has been approved by a unanimity of opinion concerning the merit of Antoninus Pius which obtains perhaps in the case of no single other absolute ruler in the world's history, unless it be English Alfred who claims the like. When Pius died in A.D. 161, an old man 74 years of age, men sorrowed for him as for a dead youth. And in the watchword "Equanimity" which he gave from his deathbed to the Tribune of the Guard he revealed both the source of his strength and the attainment of his life.[4]

When Hadrian adopted Antoninus, he attached a condition to the choice. The new Caesar must himself at once adopt on his part two "sons". One of these was the eleven-year old Lucius Verus, son of the dead Aelius Verus. "Let the State have something from Verus," said Hadrian sadly.[5] The other was a lad five years this boy's senior, one Marcus Annius Verus, who was born on April 26, A.D. 121, and was thus still in his sixteenth year.

In this last choice Hadrian's judgment once again was flawless. "Annius Verissimus," as the Emperor smilingly nicknamed the

[1] Fronto p. 206; Eutrop. VII, 18, 1; *Vita Pii* 13, 4; etc. [2] Gibbon.

[3] Frontonis et M. Aurelii Epistolae, ed. Naber, pp. 25, 26.

[4] So much concerning Pius may be said to justify Hadrian's choice. The rest belongs to a biography of the later Emperor, whose full title would be Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. He should not be called "Verus"—as wrongly in an Olympian inscription before his accession. Cf. Schiller p. 626; cf. *Vita Pii* 12, 44 and 6. For the extraordinary affection which the mere name Antoninus inspired for years to come, cf. *Vita Ant. Diadum.* 1-3. Cf. ib. 6, 2—"tam amabile nomen".

[5] *Vita Hel.* 7, 2.

older boy, was the Marcus Aurelius, Stoic philosopher and Emperor (in partnership for a while with Lucius Verus) after Antoninus Pius. He was a nephew of the latter, being son of Pius' brother-in-law Annius Verus the elder. Hadrian betrothed him to Ceionia, sister of Lucius Verus, but on that Emperor's death other marriage arrangements were made, and the ties between Marcus, Lucius, and Pius were drawn closer yet. Marcus married Pius' daughter, who was his own cousin, Annia Faustina the younger, and it was a child of this marriage, Annia Lucilla, who became the bride of Lucius Verus. Thus Marcus was first nephew, then adopted son, then son-in-law to Pius; and Lucius Verus was first brother by adoption to Marcus and then his son-in-law. The Antonines believed in family ties.

Many writers have loved to dwell upon the sweet gravity and courtesy of the boy Marcus, a serious child who had already won Hadrian's heart. In despite of his seventeen tutors he was at first no bookworm, but as a young boy loved all manner of sports and games, boxing, wrestling, running, bird-snaring, hunting, ball-playing. But then divine philosophy called him, a child aged twelve, and he put away childish things. He would study, wrapped round in the rude cloak of the philosopher; he would lay himself to sleep on a small pallet placed upon the floor, upon which only his mother's love could compel him to fling a few rough skins of beasts. Poor small Roman victim of philosophy! All the fun, the merriment, the romance of life fell to his gay young brother Lucius. In manhood Marcus Aurelius laboured passionately for the State, yet did it one great disservice, whereof it came near to shipwreck. For his own eldest son Commodus, as not seldom happens with the first-born, was truly his mother's boy. In him Faustina's tastes were exaggerated and vulgarized, as she herself had been child of a pleasure-seeking reckless woman. There was small trace in Commodus, as men muttered with sinister meaning at the time, of his father Marcus or of Pius his grandfather. Not even such princes could be happy in their children. Might it not be better to be like Hadrian childless, and so bequeath the Roman State by adoption to noble and honourable keeping?

Thus Hadrian "crowned his life's work worthily," [1] bestowing upon Rome two of the most right-minded of her rulers, Antoninus the Good and Marcus Aurelius the Wise.[2] And if the golden-haired laddie Lucius grew into a man of his own father's type, luxurious, indolent, of careless bonhomie, it was never to be his hand which should grasp the helm of the ship of State, but that of the older and graver of the two boys whom Hadrian, now in the

[1] Domaszewski p. 211.

[2] "In Antonino pietas, in Vero bonitas, in Marco sapientia" (*Vita Ant. Diadum.* 7, 4).

last year of his failing life, gave as sons to Antoninus, his heir and his successor. The dying Emperor had performed his last Imperial task right fitly and right well.

§ 3. The Death of Hadrian

To face death without blenching is part of a man's birthright. Hadrian had now endured his wasting illness with a gallant patience for many months.[1] It is a fact not without its pathos that he alone of all the Roman Emperors issued coins on which was stamped the allegorical figure of Patientia.[2] In the spring of A.D. 138 the disease took a graver turn. Dropsical supervened upon phthisical symptoms, and the unceasing pain became almost unendurable. Not a physician could give him any relief. A late Church Father, a quarrelsome bigot, Epiphanius, speaks of a letter composed and published by Hadrian which derided all medical science.[3] If this be true, it is no great wonder. Pain is prompter of much bitterness at the powerlessness of human aid.

Leaving the administration of Rome and of the Empire to Antoninus, the Emperor withdrew to Baiae on the warm sunny Bay of Naples. Here quacks and soothsayers dogged his steps, dreams and visions of the night disquieted his feverish sleep. Chronicler and biographer dwell at great length and with sorry gusto upon Hadrian's sufferings.[4] No need to follow them in this their morbid pleasure. If the Emperor begged for death, now from doctor, now from captive slave, a wild huntsman of the north,[5] he would not give the boon to himself. The soldier who through the unendurableness of pain sought his own life won his pity. The stoic in like evil plight was given by him even the means to die.[6] The Prince himself must be of sterner stuff. For some months he endured " and, as it were, died daily ".[7] In all pain and weakness there is just one engine which drives the human machine along the uphill track, just one garrison which still holds out in the beleagured citadel, and that is the Will of man. Neither religion nor philosophy can do more than reinforce that Will. When that at last breaks down, what then is left ?

So at the last Hadrian's own brave spirit yielded. His final, his one immortal, poem written, spurning fiercely all medical behests, crying passionately, now that a prince should die in health and not in weakness, now the proverb of the day that " many physicians are the death of the King," he sent for Antoninus, and in his presence died. His death befel at Baiae on July 10, A.D. 138.

[1] Epit. 9, " placide pertulerat ".
[2] Laffranchi p. 358.
[3] De mens. 14.
[4] Dio 69, 20, 1 ; 22, 1-4 ; *Vita* 24, 8-13 ; 25, 1-7 ; 26, 6-10 ; Epit. 9 and 12.
[5] The slave was one Mastor, of the Jazyges.
[6] See above, pp. 208, 238.
[7] Dio.

He had lived nearly 62½ years, and reigned one month short of 21.[1]

His ashes, deposited at first in Cicero's Villa at Puteoli, were presently brought to Rome by his successor and placed in the heart of the great Mausoleum which he himself had all but finished building on Tiber's bank.[2] It was from a reluctant Senate and only by much entreaty that Pius won for Hadrian the customary honour of consecration as Divine.[3] What was this Senate that it dared mutter or refuse? The Roman Army knew better how great was its loss. Grudgingly the Senate accepted the inevitable. Temples in Hadrian's honour were erected at Rome and Puteoli, and a College of priests maintained the worship of the dead Emperor.[4] Thus with all due customary and formal observance Hadrian's story ends.

§ 4. Personalia

In his prime Hadrian was a handsome stalwart figure, of a stature above the average. He was fair-skinned, with bluish-grey eyes and thick curling hair. This in his later life was streaked with grey. He first had set the example of wearing a beard, which he kept always carefully trimmed. "Fair to look on was Hadrian," says the chronicler, "and a certain grace flowered upon him." [5]

"In his statues we may still see the piercing glance which seeks to read the very heart of man, and the slight inclination of the head as if the Emperor would let nothing escape his ear. In truth he had eye and ear everywhere and trusted himself alone in the government of the Empire." [6]

This personal control of all things, military and civil, and the well nigh unbroken peace which he secured to a war-weary Roman world [7] constitute Hadrian's chief claims to fame as Emperor. To this the enigmatic versatility of his character,

"Varius, multiplex, multiformis," [8]

[1] Life: 62 years, 5 months, 17 days (Jan. 24, 76-July 10, 138). Reign: 20 years, 11 months (Aug. 11, 117-July 10, 138).

[2] Perhaps upon the completion of the building next year. Cf. *Vita* 25, 7; Dio 69, 23, 1; C.I.L. VI, 984; *Vita Pii* 5, 1.

[3] Dio 69, 23, 3; 70, 1, 2-3; *Vita* 27, 1-4; *Vita Pii* 5, 1, 2; Eutrop. VIII, 7, 3; cf. Consecration Coins, Cohen 270 f., 1509 f.

[4] *Vita* 27, 3; *Vita Pii* 5, 2; 8, 2; C.I.G. III, 5852 (Cibyra in Phrygia dedicates an altar to Hadrian at Puteoli).

[5] Dio 69, 2, 6A, ap. John of Antioch, frag. 113; cf. John Malalas, Chron. p. 277 (ed. Bonn); and Orac. Sibyll. V, 46 (A.D. 138).

[6] Schiller p. 603.

[7] So the poetical (?) Sibyl of A.D. 267 (Orac. Sibyll. XII, 163). The Christian Sibyl of a much earlier date, A.D. 160, is far less complimentary and equally wooden.

[8] Epit. § 6.

has contributed. The ancient biographer ransacks his vocabulary to achieve antitheses :

" Severus laetus, comis gravis, lascivus cunctator, tenax liberalis, simulator simplex, saevus clemens, et semper in omnibus varius." [1]

Many an ordinary man is two men—has the two faces,

> " One to face the world with,
> One to show the woman whom he loves,"

in the great Victorian poet's familiar lines. But his latter condition is no essential for a dual personality. Nor is there need to plumb the depths of the subconscious mind to discover the two in one. Some men, however,—and Hadrian was one of these—are more complex, partly by reason of the catholicity of their interests, partly in virtue of a deep-hidden reticence which eludes and baffles both the contemporary and the curiosity of those who come after. Hadrian's character was hard to read. He was therefore both praised and feared, disliked and appreciated. Men felt no confidence, however near they stood to him, however kindly and generously he dealt with them, that they understood him or knew beyond dispute the truth of his wishes and his purposes.

Yet his work for Rome is plain and stands clear to this day. It is an Imperial structure, strong, rebuilt, foursquare ; one of security, of sure defence, of ordered life and regulated peace. Little is gained by fastening upon the Emperor far-reaching ideas of Imperial absolutism [2] or of cosmopolitan comprehensiveness.[3] Even terms such as consolidation, Imperial homogeneity, the Reichsidee,[4] leave us critical and cold. Still smaller advance is made by congratulation to his Age in that its " most typical man " [5] was " selected by destiny to be its sovran ". These are wind-puffed words with little meaning.

Hadrian's work is its own interpretation. During fifty years Astraea might seem to have revisited an iron-bound storm-vexed earth. In truth it was a golden age, one in which the human intellect knew as yet but little of the curse of bigotry nor had any need for emancipation from the fetters of priestly control. And if man now once again after so many centuries of struggle and despair can serve his fellows as bravely as did the Roman of the second century, and can possess for such service a new sanction other than the Roman's, one of which not even priestcraft could despoil the religion of Christ, let him not disparage for its absence the two Emperors who gave their citizens such peace and happiness for very joy of toil endured and sheer plain duty done.

[1] *Vita* 14, 11.
[2] Kornemann, Hitzig.
[3] H. Peter et alii.
[4] Pelham.
[5] Bury.

HADRIAN'S MAUSOLEUM (THE CASTLE OF S. ANGELO) AND 'PONS AELIUS' AT ROME

Hadrian need not be labelled and catalogued a " Saviour of Society " or a " Hero of the Nations ". Clear insight, common sense, a dislike for pose and for affectation, a shrewd humorous appreciation of the littleness of things, a taste for magnificence in building, for literature and the fine arts, a love of travel and a sense of duty—these are not heroic, not worshipful qualities in a ruler ; but they do small harm and at times some good. As for the passionate hero-souls, those same Saviours of Society—alas ! whom God deludes is well deluded. Rare is their presence upon earth, rarer even than the times which seem to call for them. And if men become their own Gods, their countrymen may be well rid of these. Unhappily it is so hard to get rid of them.

The laughing and agreeable Lucian of Samosata may bring us down to plain earth again. He may have looked with a boy's admiring eyes upon the Imperial traveller Hadrian, the Emperor of his childhood. Surely he was thinking of the prince when he wrote concerning the " works of peace " :

" ' Now turn to the time of peace. . . . And first, if you do not object, let us consider the places which are the natural homes of peace.'

" ' By all means,' replies the polite and completely stupid listener, ' I have not yet grasped your meaning, but let us consider them.'

" ' Well,' rejoins the ' diner-out,' ' I should call the natural homes of peace the market-place, and the law-courts, the wrestling and the training-schools, hunting fields, and banquets.'

" ' You might certainly so call them,' the other replied, gravely and attentively acquiescent." [1]

Here, indeed, in such " natural homes of peace," or, at other times, in the rainstorms, the snows, the heat of the frontiers, but not upon the mountain top of some ideal endeavour, we look for Hadrian and we find him. He is no paladin, no hero of his nation. An Augustus follows a Julius, a Hadrian a Trajan. It is always the warrior who wins the admiration, and the administrator who earns some small chilly meed of praise. For men see the one among them, walking upon their own level, human in the midst of a common humanity. The other soars into those empyrean heights whither the ordinary man attains in rare dreams alone. And to service unstinted, unwearying and loyal, rendered to the common daily life of hurrying humanity the dreamer gives little heed.

[1] *περὶ Παρασίτου* 51 ; trans. S. T. Irwin (with a few changes).

§ 5. Conclusion

"If a man," wrote Gibbon in a well-known sentence and with almost indisputable truth, "were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus".[1]

And yet against this felicity of the "Golden Age of the Antonines," of which Hadrian was chief cause and veritable founder, it seems at times to be charged as not far short of a reproach that it *was* a golden age and that an iron age should so soon follow it. The halcyon days of that rich autumn in the life of Rome were ended by wild storms beating upon her from the savage north where, amid forest, marsh, and hill, there lurked the wild tribes waiting their chance for pressing forward into the heart of Rome's Empire as soon as the weakness or the folly of a prince should invite them, or the irresistible onset of barbarians still more remote should hurl them against the guarded frontiers of the Roman peace.

But there is no justice in such reproach against the earlier happier time unless it had been lack of provident forethought, want of wisdom or of courage, relaxation of effort in its princes which should hereafter let the barbarians in. Of Hadrian and the Antonines this may not be said. Our own golden age of the Nineties lies consumed in the fierce flame of war and the wretchedness of war's consequences, and neither the selfishness nor the indolence nor the foolishness of man restores it us again. Yet it was no statesmanship of that earlier generation which brought upon its children that great alarm and danger, not wholly dissimilar from those which shook the Roman Empire first when in the days of Marcus Aurelius the brimming Teuton reservoirs began to let loose their all-destroying floods upon the happy fields of Gaul and Italy. That then the Roman frontiers and their fortresses stood long and stoutly enough at bay to enable Roman law and life and thought in some measure to prevail in the end against their conquerors is praise for the Master Builders, and foremost among these for Hadrian, who wrought the still indomitable Roman temper to such valiant proof.

After the Age of the Antonines Europe was slowly submerged by successive waves of barbarism from north and east, nor yet has she recovered wholly from them. Not every invasion infused fresh life and vigour into the decaying Empire, nor did Latin civilization share the good fortune of the happier western isle. Black and evil were the storm clouds threatening the peace of the

[1] Ed. Bury I, p. 78.

Roman Golden Age and the subjects of the Empire who during it enjoyed in tranquillity the richest fruits of the noble civilization of Rome. But history owes no censure to the Emperor whose wisdom ensured the happiness and security which his Age enjoyed ; for it lay not either in Hadrian's power or in that of the two princes who came after him by any prescience or striving finally to avert or to destroy the peril from the north

" A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spreads upon the mountains : a great people and a strong.

" A fire devoureth before them ; and behind them a flame burneth : the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness ; yea, and nothing shall escape them.

" Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble.

" They shall run like mighty men ; they shall climb the wall like men of war.

" For the day of the Lord is great and very terrible ; and who can abide it ?

" Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears.

" Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision : for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision."

APPENDICES

A. The ancient authorities.
B. Hadrian's movements in 117-118 A.D.
C. Itinerary and chronology of Hadrian's travels.
D. Hadrian's Titles.

Genealogical Table.
Selected Bibliography.

APPENDIX A

THE ANCIENT AUTHORITIES

1. The "Vita" by "Spartianus"

"AELII Spartiani De Vita Hadriani" is the first of the series of biographies of the Roman Emperors from Hadrian to Carinus and Numerian (A.D. 117-284) which together compose what is known as the "Augustan History".

The writers of these thirty-four biographies were, according to the usual account, six in number. Very little is known personally of any of the six. One of them, Julius Capitolinus, may have been "general editor" of the whole collection, acting under orders from Constantine about A.D. 330. This is H. Peter's view, but, like everything else connected with the Historia Augusta, it has been hotly disputed, e.g. by Dessau (ap. Hermes XXIV, 337). There is a suggestion to identify two of the six biographers, viz. Spartianus and Lampridius, as being one and the same writer. If the number five were still further reduced or the number six increased, this would make not the slightest difference to the value of the "Lives" as historical evidence.

The Augustan History may be regarded as a continuation of Suetonius' work, the "Lives of the Caesars" (although there is an unhappy gap between the two which covers the reigns of Nerva and Trajan), and as based upon the earlier work as a type. But the later biographies are hopelessly inferior to their model. They are drawn up upon no such clear system of arrangement; are incredibly stupid and verbose; and lack almost completely Suetonius' wit and interest. "We have history here presented to us in its lowest and crudest shape" (Dict. Biog.). It has however been well remarked as fortunate that the writers of these inadequate biographies made up their minds to imitate Suetonius rather than Tacitus, in that the former at least was not entirely beyond the range of their intellectual comprehension (H. Peter, p. 104: exactly the same remark in G. Boissier, "Tacitus," Eng. trans. p. 78). And in the "Chronique scandaleuse" of the Roman "City Gazette," the "Acta Urbis," they found a rich source of information suited to their taste, although they serve up the dish with a less piquant sauce than does their Shandean exemplar.

Of Aelius Spartianus nothing whatever is known except that he is the reputed author of six of the "Lives" in the Augustan History, if Hadrian and Aelius Verus ("Helius") be counted together as one. This, the first of the biographies, was dedicated to Diocletian and put together, it is supposed, between March, A.D. 293, and May, A.D. 305.

The careful precision with which the months are specified will be noticed with admiration. But while in general the writers of the Historia Augusta quote as their sources "eine grosse Schar ganz obskurer Persönlichkeiten" (Schanz III, p. 69), the Vita Hadriani has at least this superiority, that from time to time it mentions two authentic names. One of these is Hadrian himself; the other is Marius Maximus.

(*a*) *Hadrian's Autobiography:*

The Emperor wrote his Autobiography probably towards the end of his life between A.D. 134-136. It was published under a freedman's name, not necessarily that of Phlegon (*Vita* 16, 1; cf. above, p. 231), but must speedily have been assigned to its true author. Nothing is known of it except the few, and mostly trivial, extracts from it quoted in the *Vita*. These are four in number (1, 1; 3, 2-3; 3, 5; 7, 2). One of the four is apologetic and useful (7, 2); one concerns his ancestry (1, 1); one gives an omen (3, 5) and one is slightly derogatory of Trajan (3, 2-3). Two statements in Dio Cassius (66, 17—Vespasian's poisoning by Titus—and 69, 11—the death of Antinous) may be taken from the Autobiography. Plew (p. 9) denies the first, and the second may be from one of Hadrian's letters. It is most improbable that the "Letter to Servianus" appeared in the Autobiography. (See above, p. 231.)

To what further extent Spartianus or Marius Maximus or any one else ever used it is quite unknown. The work is lost. One suggestion at least, which is very gravely made by a German, may be accepted, viz. that the account in the *Vita* of Hadrian's death and burial did not come from the Autobiography. It is disputed whether the Emperor wrote it in Latin or in Greek and in one or in many books; whether Spartianus used it at first or second hand; etc., etc.

Cf. on the subject in particular H. Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. II, 1906, p. clxxvii, and Script. Hist. Aug., p. 98; Plew, pp. 3-11; Dürr, p. 12; P.-W.

(*b*) *Marius Maximus:*

This writer is quoted as direct authority for four statements in the Life of Hadrian, viz.: 2, 10 (Hadrian's marriage); 12, 4 (a joke by Hadrian); 20, 3 (Hadrian's character—an unlikely "motivation"); 25, 4 (death-bed "inventions"); and for two in the Life of Aelius, viz.: 3, 9 (Hadrian's foreknowledge of the future); 5, 4-5 (the Tetrafarmacum). The writer has been commonly identified (e.g. by Herzen, Borghesi, Wilmanns, Mommsen, Dessau, Peter, Schanz: denied, e.g. by Platnauer, Sept. Sev., p. 82, who is not content even with two of the name, but doubtfully suggests a third !) with Lucius Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, born *c.* A.D. 155, who discharged the duties of a varied and important public career between A.D. 195-218, being governor in succession of Germany, Syria, Africa, and Asia, City Prefect in 218, and Consul II under Alexander Severus in 223. (Cf. C.I.L. VI, 1, 1450; Prosop. Imp. Rom. II, p. 346, No. 233; Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. II, p. clxxxvii.) He is supposed to have amused his old age by writing biographies of the twelve Emperors from Nerva to

Elagabalus (thus continuing Suetonius without a break), upon a scale and with a prolixity passing belief. " Homo verbosissimus " (Vopiscus). " By the wild improbability of his tales he even excited the disapproval of other writers, themselves wholly destitute of the least critical faculty " (Schanz). The identification of the writer with the official makes no difference to the value of the statements ascribed to him. Cf. Schanz, pp. 69-72 ; Peter, Script., pp. 89-98. To the question whether Spartianus used Marius Maximus directly or indirectly one German devotes fifty pages (Plew, pp. 11-61). This also makes no difference. This writer under Alexander Severus is typical of the whole mass of third century authors (cf. Dio Cassius himself), in that no Emperor can ever earn his commendation unless he be popular with that impotent and self-conscious Body, the Senate. He has therefore nothing good to say of Hadrian. Cf. Peter, Reliq. II, p. clxxx. sq.

Apart from the Autobiography and Marius Maximus no other " authorities " are mentioned by name in Spartianus' Vita Hadriani. That this is a " contaminatio " is obvious, and in it scissors and paste have been most casually and unintelligently used. There is an elaborate analysis of the *Vita* in Peter (Script. 121-124), who tries to separate its intertwining strands ; a similar and more microscopical analysis in Schulz, who discovers in it three main sources, from a trustworthy " Anonymus " to a Theodosian " Schlussredaktor " ; and finally the monumental wearisomeness of Kornemann. This German invents a son for Q. Lollius Urbicus, the builder of the Antonine Wall in Scotland, and makes him, aged 80 (such precision in these matters is most desirable), write a history which is the groundwork of the *Vita*. This son thus becomes a great historian, in fact " Der letzte grosser Historiker von Rom ". He is given shadowy substance by a single sentence in Lampridius (Diadum. 9, 2), but the remorseless Schanz challenges his very existence. The Teutonic monograph is somewhat wasted on a busy scholastic world. As well be Junius Cordus, and devote part of your historical research to the measurement of the breadth of Maximin's thumb.

Classical investigation always runs the risk of becoming an Apotheosis of the insignificant, especially in Germany, where the lack of any sense of proportionate values seems incurable. The time and labour spent upon the Augustan History in general and upon the " Life " of Hadrian in particular are overwhelming, and their results, so far as any practical use for history goes, are precisely nil. The local pressman who devotes columns to the names of winners at a fat-cattle or an agricultural show and not so many lines to those of the boys who gain Secondary School scholarships and so determine the whole course of their life's usefulness hereafter, has a finer sense of values than that displayed by many a classical monograph. One gloomy fact must honestly be stated, that the use of the *Vita* by the historian is not really affected to any degree by the whole mass of undemonstrable theories concerning its composite authorship. It has been said concerning Charlemagne that " highly ingenious attempts have been made to separate the different strata of legend. But our store of historical

facts can hardly be said to have been augmented by these researches " (H. W. C. Davis, Charlemagne, p. 329). The same is true of the biographies of the Augustan History.

Thus in the case of the *Vita*, whether one " Anonymus " or a score of Anonymi, whether one Theodosian redactor or forger, or a dozen such, had their fingers in the making of the pie, the result has, unfortunately, to be the investigator's chief sustenance, even though he may justly grumble at the miserable fare and find it disagree badly with him at times. In the *Vita* (and this is true of all the authorities for Hadrian) there is " a strong flavour of something left out ". A stale mince pie is a poor Christmas dinner, but, even if we knew that the ingredients were inserted into the pie by sixteen cooks and it was baked by a seventeenth, it remains something to eat, *faute de mieux*.

2. Dio Cassius

Dio Cassius was born at Nicaea in A.D. 155 ; consul in A.D. 222 ; died *c.* A.D. 235. He wrote in Greek a Complete Roman History in eighty books, reaching as far as A.D. 229. This is lost. But it was abridged by a certain Xiphilinus in the eleventh century, and another epitome of it, derived partly from the original, partly from Xiphilinus' abridgement, was published by Zonaras in the twelfth century. The history of the reign of Hadrian is contained in Book 69 in Xiphilinus' abridgement, of which Zonaras' version is in this case a copy. Other fragmentary extracts are to be found in Boissevain's great edition of Dio (Berlin, 1901). Cf. my " Life of Nero," pp. 431-432.

As unhappily there exists no good historian with whom to compare Dio's account of Hadrian (whom the chronicler, as Dio may be called, misliked, since the Emperor was not sufficiently " senatorially-minded " to please him), we have to accept this as on the whole trustworthy. Such is the state of our materials—a dull second- or third-rate writer two centuries later has to be taken for valuable evidence and with gratitude !

3. Minor Writers

(*a*) *Sextus Aurelius Victor :*

Governor of Pannonia under Julian, *c.* A.D. 361 ; city prefect A.D. 389 ; African by birth and a pagan. His " Caesares " (which may have come down to us in an epitome only) were sketches of the Emperors from Augustus to Constantius. An irresistible tendency to moralize impaired his popularity. He and the next three " sources " here mentioned, the " Epitomator," Eutropius, and Festus, were contemporaries, and all went for their stuff to a common (undetermined) original. Cf. H. Peter, Gesch. Litt. über die röm. Kaiserzeit, Leipzig, 1897, II, pp. 131-151 ; and Bury's " Gibbon " I, Appendix I, p. 447. For Hadrian Victor is sometimes ridiculous and never of value.

(*b*) *The Epitome* (*Anonymous*).

" Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum breviatus ex libris Sex. Aurelii Victoris "—a not wholly correct title. It is more concerned

with Hadrian's " mores " than with his " vita ". Cf. Peter, op. cit. II, pp. 152-157, and note supra. Occasionally useful.

(*c*) *Eutropius :*

Magister Memoriae at the court of Valens ; wrote his " Breviaria " in A.D. 369. This little book won great popularity (being suited to the intellects of the day). It was translated into Greek ; is the groundwork of Jerome's " Chronicles " (*c.* A.D. 380) and of the Christian writer Orosius' work ; and was used by Augustine, Cassiodorus, Bede, Paulus diaconus, etc. Hadrian is dealt with in VIII, 6, 7. Cf. Peter, op. cit. II, pp. 133-134 and 158-159. Suitable for elementary schoolboys when—if ever—these are given the chance of learning the Latin language.

(*d*) *Festus :*

Of Trent. Governor of Syria, A.D. 365 ; died, A.D. 380. Cf. Peter, op. cit. pp. 134-135. As brief as useless.

These four minor writers possess no independent authority and are useful only on the rarest occasion to embellish the narrative.

4. The " Sententiae "

A curiously interesting and human " source " is to be found in the writing entitled " Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistolae ". This is a collection of " Anecdotes of Hadrian " made by one Dositheus, who was a Roman grammarian and teacher of Greek at the beginning of the third century. These stories are preserved in no other source, and, however dubious their authenticity may be, they do form an agreeable addition (and contrast) to our other information. I have made use of almost all. Edited by E. Böcking, ap. Corpus Juris Romani Anteiustiniani, Bonn, 1841.

5. Other Evidence

Hadrian's Letters : Fourteen genuine and four doubtful (somewhat fragmentary) ; list in P.-W. Cf. G. Radet, Lettres de l'empereur Hadrien, ap. Bull. Corr. Hellen. XI, 1887, pp. 108-126. Rescripts and legal enactments : collected in Haenel, Corpus Legum, Leipzig, 1857, pp. 85-101.

Many references besides to the above, to the remnants of Hadrian's speeches, and to the innumerable inscriptions dating from his reign, will be found given by me in the text of this history. For the inscriptions the article " Hadrianus " in Ruggiero's great but sluggish Dizionario Epigrafico is most valuable. The Emperor's military " Diplomata," eight in number, are in C.I.L. III, pp. 872-879, Nos. 30-37. Coins of the reign—also plentiful—cf. Eckhel VI, 473-519 ; Cohen II^2, 104-246 ; and L. Laffranchi, la cronologia delle monete di Adriano, ap. Rivista italiana di numismatica, Milan, 1906, pp. 329-374 (with two plates).

[*Note.*—Select Bibliography on the ancient sources :

H. Peter. Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae : sechs litterar-geschichtliche Untersuchungen. Leipzig, 1892, pp. 266.

Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae. Leipzig, 1906 ; II, pp. clxxx to clxxxviii and 121-129.

M. Schanz. Geschichte der römischen litteratur ; 3te Teil. Munich, 1896, pp. 69-72.

J. Plew. Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian. Strassburg, 1890, p. 122.

E. Kornemann. Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom. Leipzig, 1905, pp. 136.

O. Schulz. Leben des Kaisers Hadrian. Vienna, 1881, pp. 124.

D. Magie. The Scriptores Historiae Augustae (Loeb Classical Library). London, 1922. Vol. I, Introduction.

Cf. also J. B. Bury's edition of Gibbon, Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 444-446.]

APPENDIX B

HADRIAN'S MOVEMENTS IN A.D. 117-118

THE chronology of Hadrian's proceedings for the eighteen months or so after his accession is as uncertain and baffling, owing to the insecure nature of the evidence, as that of his journeys later. The monograph on the whole subject by Julius Dürr, Die Reisen der Kaisers Hadrian, Wien, 1881, pp. 124, is of great length and a most painstaking and laborious collection of evidence possible and impossible. But his deductions are not seldom unwarranted, even wildly improbable, though his conclusions seem often to have been swallowed whole by later writers such as Schulz and Bury. Perhaps it is specially in dealing with Hadrian's first movements as Emperor that it is most unsafe to follow Dürr blindly.

The actual evidence for this period's chronology falls under three heads :—

(*a*) The statements in the *Vita*, viz. :

(1) On Trajan's death Hadrian went from Antioch to Selinus, and then returned to Antioch.

(2) Then, having appointed Catilius Severus governor of Syria, " per Illyricum Romam venit ".

(3) In Rome he celebrates a triumph in Trajan's honour. Various legislative measures follow.

(4) Then, hearing of the rising of Sarmatians and Roxolani, " praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petit ". In his absence there occurs the Conspiracy of the Four Consulars and their death.

(5) Hearing of which, Hadrian " statim . . . Romam venit ".

(*b*) The fragments of the " Acta Fratrum Arvalium " (C.I.L. VI, 2078-2083 ; Henzen cli-clxv).

Jan. 3, 118 : Vota pro salute Hadriani.

Feb. 26, 118 : Letters received from Hadrian directing the co-optation of L. Julius Catus.

(Note that a letter of the kind does *not* of necessity imply that Hadrian was absent from Rome.)

Some time in 118 also there are sacrifices on two occasions " ob adventum," i.e. " for Hadrian's coming ".

These two sacrifices may be variously interpreted as (A) either for a future or for an actual arrival : Henzen takes one view, Dürr the other ; (B) either for two arrivals separated by an interval, or for one and the same arrival celebrated twice. Dürr assumes the latter, certainly the less likely, view.

Unluckily no month is given for either arrival. The first is dated

"6th day before the Ides". The second is confessedly "die incerto". There is not the least evidence for Dürr's complacent assumption that *August* 8, 118, is the date of Hadrian's first coming to Rome.

(*c*) Three inscriptions:

1. C.I.L. III, 1445: an inscription of Sarmizegetusa to Hadrian *dated* Trib. Pot. II. Cos. P.P. This is a perplexing date. Hadrian was Consul first in 108; he was Cos. II on Jan. 1, 118. In 117 he was not Consul at all! He was Trib. Pot. first upon his accession on Aug. 11, 117. His Trib. Pot. II dates either from Dec. 10, 117, or from Jan. 1, 118. It has been argued (1) that the inscription dates to the three weeks between Dec. 10. 117, and Jan. 1, 118; (2) that it implies Hadrian's presence at the Dacian capital in these three weeks. Both arguments are utterly unsound. Yet on the strength of them jointly Dürr creates a Danube campaign for Hadrian before he returns to Rome after his accession. The "per Illyricum" of the *Vita* is taken to refer to such a campaign. His first "adventus" is set down as *August*, 118 (see preceding note ap. (*b*)). P.-W. accepts this scheme with some hesitation; but Schulz (37-39) swallows it whole, unblushingly inventing a precise time-table for Hadrian's movements on the strength of it, as does von Premerstein, who in an elaborate structure, plays battledore and shuttlecock with Turbo, Nigrinus, and the rest. (See above, pp. 52-54, note on the conspiracy of the four consulars.)

   There is no kind of evidence for all this Danube campaign. (1) Mommsen believes Hadrian counted his Trib. Pot. II from Jan. 1, 118—and so all subsequent Trib. Pot. from Jan. 1 and *not* from Dec. 10 of the preceding year. The "Cos." of the inscription is hopelessly wrong in any case. Probably it is a sheer error for Cos. II, and thus squares with Trib. Pot. II: i.e. the inscription's date is any time in 118. (2) Such a dedication does *not* imply the Emperor's presence. Why should it not be a vote of congratulation by the Colony to the new Emperor when, e.g. the news of his accession (or any other circumstance) comes to the town? Further the scheme flings overboard the statement in the *Vita* that Hadrian went to Rome *before* he went to "Moesia". Clearly a "Danube campaign" suits Moesia. It does *not* suit "per Illyricum".
2. An Inscription of Pergamum (published by C. Curtius: Inschriften aus Kleinasien, ap. Hermes VII, 1873, p. 37 sq.). This is a greeting by Hadrian to a synod in the town in thanks for a message of congratulation brought to him by the town's envoy. It is dated "Nov. 12 from Juliopolis," and in it Hadrian is described as being δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, i.e. Trib. Pot. simply with no numeral added: i.e. between Aug. 11, 117-Jan. 1, 118. Thus Hadrian was at Juliopolis according to this on Nov. 12, 117, *unless* the numeral has been wrongly

omitted, in which (quite possible) case the inscription may be dated any year.

But now geographical perplexities supervene. Where was Juliopolis? There are at least three conceivable claimants.

Bithynian Juliopolis lay on the main road from Ancyra to Nicaea, en route for Nicomedia and the Bosporus. Dürr therefore brings Hadrian this way marching from Antioch for his (hypothetical) "Danube campaign". In this case the Pergamene envoy had to travel upwards of 300 miles to catch the Emperor here on Nov. 12. He must have timed his journey well. This too is a long weary route for Hadrian from Syria to the Danube, and it allows him, on Dürr's showing, a bare fortnight to get hence from Juliopolis to the Danube if he has to arrive at Sarmizegetusa before Jan. 1, 118. Schulz observes with some complacency that Hadrian must have journeyed "mit einer geradezu bewunderungswerten Schnelligkeit".

A second Juliopolis is on the Euphrates route near Melitene in Cappadocia. This would only require our envoy to travel another 500 odd miles. Curiously enough, this town is not usually selected for Hadrian's presence en route from Syria to Rome (or to Dacia).

But a third is a more serious rival. Julia Gordus in Phrygia is only some 70 miles from Pergamum. Now Bithynian Juliopolis is also called Gordiû Kome (J. G. C. Anderson's map of Asia Minor). Why not reverse the process and call Julia Gordus Juliopolis? Unhappily it is an unimportant place on a by-road which leads nowhere in particular. What would Hadrian be doing here in Nov. 117? Kindly waiting for a Pergamene envoy?

Clearly Bithynian Juliopolis holds the field. But if Hadrian *is* here on Nov. 12, 117, he may still have been bent on the Bosporus and Italy by the Via Egnatia, i.e. "per Illyricum," and *not* on a wild goose chase to the Danube and Dacia. This would at least allow him to reach Rome in the spring of 118—as Bury suggests.

3. An inscription of Burnum in Dalmatia, C.I.L. III, 2828, is to Hadrian Trib. Pot. II Cos. II P.P., i.e. any time in 118. This would fit in with a land journey "per Illyricum". But did he then march from Dyrrhachium round the head of the Adriatic to get to Rome? Once again the fallacy lies in supposing that this kind of honorary inscription—of which there are any number—implies Hadrian's presence in the town which pays him the compliment. It is this root fallacy which vitiates Dürr's arguments concerning his later itineraries practically from beginning to end.

There is no other evidence. Coins give no help when they commemorate Hadrian's arrival in Rome, for they are undated. Eckhel VI, 476, celebrates his adventus Tr. Pot. Cos. II. If genuine this only shows how many errors are possible—for the two are inconsistent,

Trib. Pot. (i.e. I) ending before Jan. 1, 118, and Cos. II beginning on Jan. 1, 118.

Dürr gives Hadrian, perforce by his dating, a " längere Aufenthalt " in Moesia. Part of the time is spent in writing his poem on the Batavian soldier-swimmer (see p. 174); part in arrangements for his projected evacuation of Dacia (see p. 57); part in a Rundreise tour, as to Nikopolis ad Istrum, Drobetae, etc. Mursa hails Hadrian as " conditor " (C.I.L. III, 3280, etc.). But this is in 133, neither does even " conditor " imply an Imperial visit—as Reid, " Municipalities," p. 282, shows. Dürr also thinks he " refounded " Siscia, because the town is called AEL in C.I.L. VI, 2385, an inscription of the time of Severus, i.e. = Aelia. Mommsen, ap. C.I.L. III, p. 501, washes his hands of this. In any case there is no evidence that Siscia called itself Aelia in 118—nor that " Aelia " either ever implies an Imperial visit—another weakness of Dürr's argumentations.

It really will not do. There is *no* evidence of this " Danube campaign " before Hadrian's first visit to Rome. We are reduced to the *Vita* and the probabilities of the case. That the new Emperor spent practically a whole year on the Danube before visiting Rome is quite incredible. Had Trajan's ashes to wait so long for their triumph? Would Hadrian give to " the military party " so long time in which to plot quite at their ease against him in his absence? The new Emperor must come at the earliest possible moment to Rome. The " per Illyricum " remains a puzzle, only to be explained by his preference for a land journey over a sea journey in the winter.

Thus his first arrival may be set down in the early spring of 118. The Arvals have already been praying—on Jan. 3—for his safe arrival. They celebrate that arrival duly by their first sacrifice " ob adventum " on the 6th day before the Ides of some spring month. Then the Emperor from Rome presently proceeds to Moesia. After settling the troubles beyond the Danube he returns in haste—" statim "—on hearing of the execution of the four consulars. The Arvals duly celebrate his second coming " die incerto " in the autumn of 118. This is the view which I have taken in the text.

Bury (App. A., p. 519) is nearer the mark than all the Germans, though he clings to Aug. 118 as a certain date for a coming to Rome —following Dürr in this—though preferring the second to the first arrival for the " VI Idus " of the Arval fragment—which does not suit this at all. So Vaglieri, p. 602, brings Hadrian to Rome before he despatches him to the Danube. There can hardly be a doubt that this is the sounder view.

APPENDIX C

ITINERARY AND CHRONOLOGY OF HADRIAN'S TRAVELS

1. Note on the Evidence

THE ancient authorities cited are :

(*a*) Literary : viz. : The *Vita*. This gives the order of visit to the provinces on the three journeys :

1st Journey : Gaul—Germany—Britain—Gaul—Spain—Asia—Achaea " per insulas "—Sicily—Rome.

2nd Journey : Rome—Africa—Rome.

3rd Journey : Rome—Achaea—Asia—Cappadocia—Syria—Arabia—Egypt.

(*b*) Numismatic : viz. : Local coins celebrating Hadrian's " Adventus " : good evidence for an actual visit but without indication of date.

" Restitutor " on coins for a province, district, town, etc. Many examples, including Italy and the " Orbis terrarum ". These prove nothing definite.

(*c*) Epigraphic : viz. :

1. Inscriptions in honour of Hadrian (and Sabina)—as " conditor " = κτίστης of a town ; " restitutor " of province, district, or town. Despite Dürr these do not *prove* a visit : at best they suggest its possibility.
2. Milestones. These prove little or nothing save road repairs under him.
3. Names : especially " Aelia ". This proves nothing (despite Bury, p. 504), and there is the further uncertainty that it may be given a town by Pius as well as by Hadrian. But Hadrianotherae, Hadrianoi, Hadrianopolis, are better evidence for an actual visit.

Such inscriptions may celebrate Hadrian by the *dedication* to him of buildings, statues, etc. ; by complimentary *titles*, as σωτήρ, οἰκιστής, Ὀλύμπιος, εὐεργέτης, κτίστης, conditor, restitutor ; by the institution of *Games* and *Festivals* in his honour, called after his name " Adriana," etc. ; by thanks for *gifts ;* by his name on the *coinage*, etc. Such are very common in the Greek lands, more rare in the west. Of course pure chance has preserved these and innumerable other relics of the kind have perished. Dates are given at times, but, e.g. the date of a dedication cannot prove the date of a hypothetical visit ; nor does the erection of, e.g. a statue prove a visit. Queen Victoria's statues do not prove she visited the countless towns which have set them up.

In the unhappy loss of Hadrian's Autobiography which surely would have included a Travel Diary we must be far more cautious than Dürr, and not jump after him—as Bury often, I think, does blindly—to conclusions from the type of evidence in (*b*) and (*c*), which is now to be given. Thus Dürr's very elaborate Time Table and Itinerary of the First Journey—reproduced by Bury—is in not a few particulars sheer hypothesis and quite unsound.

2. Date of the Beginning of the First Journey

Evidence:

(*a*) C.I.L. VI, 1233: Collegium augurum auctore . . . Hadriano . . . trib. pot. V cos. III procos. terminos pomerii restituendos curavit.

This dates itself 121, and shows that Hadrian was then absent from Rome, as the Emperors from Trajan to Severus bear the title "proconsul" only when absent from Italy (Mommsen, St. R. II, 753).

[This inscription refers to a mere restoration of boundary stones, and does not imply any extension of the pomerium in this year. Cf. Stuart Jones, "Companion," p. 37.]

(*b*) A coin, Eckhel VI, 501: Anno DCCCLXXIIII nat(ali) urb(is) P(arilibus) cir(censes) con(stituti).

I.e. A.D. 121. The Parilia were celebrated on April 21, Rome's traditional "birthday".

(*c*) Athenaeus VIII, p. 361: a description of the musical celebration of the Parilia, "now called Romaea," *ναοῦ καθιδρυμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ . . . βασιλέως Ἁδριανοῦ.*

Dürr (pp. 24-28) connects (*b*) and (*c*), arguing that Hadrian laid the foundation stone of the Temple of Venus and Rome on April 21, 121—which makes him unable to leave the city for Gaul until after that date. So Bury, p. 496, and Lanciani, p. 196. The argument is not sound. The coin does not imply Hadrian's presence, nor the writer the date 121. Bricks of the Temple are found with the dates 123 and 134 (Middleton, II, p. 224). All other dates are guesswork. It was more probably consecrated on April 21, 135 (Stuart Jones) than April 21, 128 (Dürr). Thus (*c*) *may* refer to April 21, 135.

There is no other evidence. Hadrian was in Rome for Matidia's consecration on Dec. 23, 119. He was away in 121. To date the beginning of the first journey definitely *after* April 21, 121, as Bury does, following Dürr, has no evidence for it. The journey *may* have began in 120. So P.-W. There can be no certainty of choice between 120 and 121.

3. Hadrian in Germany

The journey down the Rhine to the Island of the Batavi is certain. Cf. Forum Hadriani here, and my text. Date, 121.

But on this occasion Dürr, followed by Bury, makes Hadrian

diverge again to the middle Danube (Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia), on the weakest of evidential hints, viz. :

(*a*) *Raetia :*

Augusta Vindelicorum : receives its municipal organization from Hadrian. C.I.L. III, p. 711. (Undated—and does not prove a visit.)

Juvavum (Salzburg) : C.I.L. III, 5536, calls it Colonia Hadriana Juvavum (but the " COL. HADR." is a forgery " a Pighio male interpolatum ". The town is Claudium Juvavum. Cf. Mommsen, C.I.L. III, p. 667 sq.).

Abudiacum (Epfach on road between Trent and Augsburg) : Dürr misreads C.I.L. III, 5780. *Not* in Hadrian's tribe—Sergia—as he thinks.

(*b*) *Noricum :*

Ovilava (Wels). Name " Aelia " (?) ap. Eph. Epigr. IV, p. 170, No. 598. But ap. C.I.L. III, 5630, it is Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana Ovilava.

Cetium (extreme E. of Noricum near Danube) : " municipium Aelium "—C.I.L. III, 5658, 5663. No evidence in this of a visit. No date.

Solva (Seckau near Leibnitz) : " Aelia Solva " ap. C.I.L. VI, 2385 : otherwise Flavia, cf. C.I.L. III, p. 649. No evidence in this of visit.

(*c*) *Pannonia :*

Carnuntum : " municipium Aelium," C.I.L. III, 4554. Probably from Pius, who restored the road hence to Vienna in A.D. 143. Cf. Mommsen ad loc. and in Hermes VII, p. 323.

Aquincum : " colonia Aelia Septimia Aquincum " ; founded by Hadrian, not by Pius—C.I.L. III, 3431—probably as a municipium (cf. C.I.L. III, 3347) and given colonial status by Septimius Severus. Cf. C.I.L. III, 3487 = A.D. 138 and Mommsen, C.I.L. III, p. 439. A grant of municipal status does not imply a visit : nor is any date given.

Mursa (Essek on the Drave—an important road centre in Lower Pannonia) : " Aelia Mursa " and inscr. to Hadrian " conditori suo " : C.I.L. III, 3280, 3289 = 10261, 10260, and p. 423. No date.

There is no doubt that at some time Hadrian visited these provinces. There is not one shred of evidence or probability to show that he did this on his " First Journey ". 118 is a more probable date. His " foundations " here may belong to any period in the reign, and do not imply a personal visit of necessity.

Similarly coins suggest a visit to Moesia (" adventus," " exerc. Moesiacus " ; Cohen 72, 554) and Dacia ? (" exerc. Dacicus " ; Cohen 557 sq.). Cf. C.I.L. III, p. 264 for Viminacium. No date is indicated. Cf. the " Moesiam petit " in 118 of the *Vita*. P.-W. suggests a long tour on the Danube after the visit to Egypt in 132—which seems unlikely. But Dürr's enormous détour from the Rhine between autumn 121 and spring 122 has nothing in the way of evidence. Then comes in the *Vita* plus probability. From " Germany " he went to Britain viâ the

Insula Batavorum. This is *per se* probable, and his obvious route lay down the Rhine direct.

There is road-building near Aquae Mattiacae (Wiesbaden) in 121-122—C.I.L. XIII, 9124—and from Trêves to Cologne, A.D. 120-121—C.I.L. XIII, 9133. Also mention of roads in the Tres Galliae of dates 117-118, 121-122, 128-138—C.I.L. XIII, 8906, 9024, 9045, 9047; VIII, 9065: and in Narbonensis—the viâ maritima from Narbo to Spain, A.D. 131-132—C.I.L. XII, 6024. These give no help concerning Hadrian's itinerary, etc., however interesting in themselves.

4. Hadrian in Spain

Evidence:

Tarraconensis: Much road-making—various dates: e.g. Bracara-Olispo, 133-134; Bracara-Aquae Flaviae, 133-134; Aquae Flaviae-Asturica, 135-136; Bracara-Asturica, 133-134; Conventus Cluniensis, 130-131; "In Aquitaniam," 133-134; New Carthage ad summum Pyrenaeum; Ceslutonensis, 120-121; cf. Diz. Epig. p. 626 and C.I.L. II, 4656-4892 passim. Ilugo—C.I.L. II, 3239.

Baetica: Italica, dedication to H. and Sabina by freedman of S. Diz. Epig. p. 626; dedications by Mirobriga; Saepo, 122-123; Singilia Barba, 121-122; Urgavo, 129-130; Aratispi, 127-128; C.I.L. II, 2365, 1339, 2014, 2111, 2055, resp.

Lusitania: Emerita, theatre rebuilt 133-134, C.I.L. II, 478; Osilipo, dedication to H. and Sabina, C.I.L. II, 5221.

Coins of "adventus," "Hispania," "Exerc. Hispanicus," "Restitutor".

Visit here ap. *Vita* 12. H. winters at Tarraco, etc. See my text.

5. Hadrian in Africa

Date proved by the Adlocutio at Lambaesis, July 1, 128. See my text, p. 95. C.I.L. VIII, 2533, a dedication to H. at Lambaesis in 129 does not of course show that he was there then. And many long arguments based on the legateship of Q. Fabius Catullinus (C.I.L. VIII, 2533, 2609, 2610, etc.), ap. P.-W. Kornemann, etc., are quite unnecessary.

Dürr invents a previous journey to "Africa" from Mauretania in 123: thence by "Crete" to Asia. Bury, p. 497, follows Dürr.

There is no evidence for this. There is road-building from Carthage to Theveste in 123—C.I.L. VIII, 10048; and Leg. III moves to permanent headquarters at Lambaesis some time before 128. But Dürr's argument that H. came in person in 123 to celebrate the road and superintend the transfer of the legion is quite worthless, and is rejected by P.-W. and by Mommsen, ap. C.I.L. VIII, p. xxi. H. is "conditor municipii" of Telmina and Bibba on the new road. This is no evidence. Dürr takes him on to Libya in 123 on the strength of Orosius VII, 12, and Eusebius, etc., to plant colonies personally there! For the movements of the legion cf. Mommsen, ap. C.I.L. VIII, pp. xxi and 283; C.I.L. VI, 2355; Cagnat, L'armée rom. d'Afrique, pp. 45, 46, 612;

Stuart Jones, " Companion," p. 232 ; Willmanns, ap. Comm. Momm., p. 193 ; C.I.L. VIII, 2591, etc. Nothing of all this shows any visit by H. to Lambaesis before 128.

Towns connected with Hadrian, viz. : *Utica :* colonia Julia Aelia Hadriana Utika—C.I.L. VIII, 1181 ; *Julia Neapolis :* a " curia Aelia " in the town—C.I.L. VIII, 974 ; *Thenae :* Aeliae Thenae (? Pius)—C.I.L. VIII, 2991 and p. 10 ; *Turris Tamalleni :* see below ; *Zucchara :* offerings to Isis pro salute H.—C.I.L. VIII, 921 ; *Sua :* Municipium Aelium—C.I.L. VIII, p. 118 ; *Avitta Bibba*—H. " Conditor," and (?) Aelia—C.I.L. VIII, 799-801 ; *Zama :* Colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Zama Regia—C.I.L. VIII, p. 211 ; *Lares :* Colonia Aelia Augusta Lares—C.I.L. VIII, 1779 and p. 209 ; *Theveste :* dedication to H. or Pius—C.I.L. VIII, 1853 ; *Lambaesis :* the " adlocutiones " : also other military inscriptions—C.I.L. VIII, 2533, 2534, 2609, 2610 ; *Thamugas :* dedication to H. and Sabina—C.I.L. VIII, 2357, 2358, 17847 ; *Cirta :* doubtful trace of H.—C.I.L. VIII, 7084 ; *Hippo Regius :* very doubtful—C.I.L. VIII, 17408. Road-making from Cirta to Rusicade by Sex Julius Maior, legate (?) 129-132 (Henzen)—C.I.L. VIII, 10296, 10322, 22370 ; and from Cirta to Thabraca via Simittu—cf. Diz. Epig. 624-625, Stuart Jones, " Companion," p. 45. Other roads C.I.L. VIII, 10062-10096 passim, 10322, 10960, etc. There are many other inscriptions to H. by African towns. That of *Turris Tamalleni*, near the Lesser Syrtis and close to the salt lagoon, the Palus Tritonis, is interesting. The native " civitas Nygbensium " here honours him as " conditor municipii " : i.e. he seems to have bestowed rights on the native community. C.I.L. VIII, 83. Cf. Reid, " Municipalities," p. 292. Dürr also infers H.'s presence at

Sigus in Numidia : inscr. to H. and Sabina—C.I.L. VIII, 5696, 5697.

In Mauretania Caesariensis, at *Culcul :* dedication to H., C.I.L. VIII, 8317 ; *Choba* on the coast : " municipium Aelium Choba—C.I.L. VIII, 8375 (? Pius) ; *Quiza* on the Chelif—C.I.L. VIII, 9697—A.D. 128.

And even in Tingitana at *Banasa*, on Atlantic Moroccan coast, because, says Dürr, Banasa is colonia Aelia—C.I.L. VIII, 9992. This might by itself show the absurdity of the argument from the name to the visit. In this particular case however the inscr. reads . . . ELIAE, i.e. Aurelia and not Aelia.

Hadrian's visit to Mauretania was from Spain on his first journey : not from Africa on his second.

Dürr's argument from the date of the S.C. Juventianum—March, 129—(Dig. V, 3, 20, 6)—that H. was in Rome on March 3, 129, the date of his letter to the Senate recommending the S.C., is weak, and rejected by P.-W. If accepted it postpones his departure to Greece to April, 129—which conflicts with the useful " statim " of the *Vita* 13, 6.

6. Hadrian in Greece, etc.

The places certainly visited by Hadrian and the evidence for the visits are given in my text.

There is *no* good evidence for his visiting *Patrae* (Schiller, p. 625); *Aegina* (C.I.A. III, 473); *Epidaurus* (despite Kornemann, p. 48: inscr. to H. as οἰκιστής is A.D. 124—too early); *Tempe* (two milestones of date 125—C.I.L. III, Supplem. 7362, 14206[32] —and the "Tempe" at the Tibur Villa, which Kornemann, p. 57, and P.-W. think sufficient); *Dodona* (C.I.G. 1822); or *Olympia* on the strength of Pausanias V, 12, 6—the statue of H. erected here in the market place by the cities of the Achaean League. Dürr thinks the text is confused and ascribes buildings to Trajan which should be given to Hadrian. There is little to be said for this.

Many places erect statues to Hadrian: e.g. *Sciathus*—C.I.G. 2153; *Peparethus*—C.I.G. 2154; *Andros*—Dürr, 98-99; *Herakleia*—Dürr, 100; *Thera*—C.I.G. 2454*c*; C.I.A. III, 491; *Syros*—C.I.G. 2347*e* (fragment of letter A.D. 125); C.I.G. 2347*d* (the statue which evoked it); *Amorgos* (*?*)—Ross, Inscr. Graec. ined. II, p. 129; *Cynaetha*—Pausan. VIII, 19, 1; *Hermione*—C.I.G. 1214; *Abia* in Messenia—C.I.G. 1307; *Pale* in Cephallenia—C.I.A. III, 481 (a statue at Athens: Cephallenia was given by H. to Athens); *Leucas*—Dürr, 121; *Coronea*—C.I.G. 1615. It is clear that such statues are no proofs of visits.

Dates of the two visits to Athens can be worked out with some approach to certainty. H. is in Rome in Feb. 127 (Bull. Corr. Hellen. XI, 1887, p. 111); travelled there direct from Greece viâ Sicily (*Vita* 13, 3, 4); is already θεός, i.e. dead, in fifteenth year after an arrival at Athens (C.I.A. III, 1023). His second visit is in fourth year from his first (C.I.A. III, 1107). Both visits are in winter (Euseb. Chron. ap. Georg. Sync. 659, 660). He is at Laodicea on Lycus in 129 (Bull. Corr. Hellen. VII, 1883, p. 406: see below). Hence the necessary conclusions: second winter visit 128-129; first, 125-126. Bury, p. 497, following Dürr, is a year too late. That he left Athens for Syria viâ Cilicia in the spring of 129 (as P.-W.) and *not* in Oct. 129 (as Dittenberger, ap. Hermes VII, 1873, pp. 213-229, and Syll. I, 389), Schulz, and Kornemann) is really certain. For he is on the Upper Nile in Nov., 130 (see above, p. 130), and at Antioch on June 23 (Malal. XI, 278). So much happens between Antioch and Upper Egypt that this last date can hardly be other than June 23, 129, and not 130.

Thrace and Macedonia:

Coins show "adventus" to both (Eckhel VI, 498, 501; Cohen, 59-62, 1279-1282). But dates are quite uncertain. Amphipolis—C.I.A. III, 474—and a place in Pelagonia—C.I.A. 485A—honour H. at Athens. He gives an aqueduct to Dyrrhachium—C.I.L. III, 709; Hadrianopolis = Adrianople—Dio 69, 10; Joann. Malal. 280; a ridiculous tale of its foundation by H. ap. Vit. Elagab. 7. Cf. Reid, "Municipalities," 401-402; Hadrianopolis in Illyricum, midway on road from Apollonia to Nicopolis—later called Justinopolis when repaired by Justinian—Hierocles, p. 651; Tab. Peut. VI c. One milestone—A.D. 124—3 miles E. of Aquae Calidae near Anchialus on Thracian coast of Euxine S. of Varna—erected by Q. Tineius Rufus, C.I.L. III, Supplem. 14207[35].

Dürr, in face of the "per insulas" of *Vita*, takes H. from Asia to

Greece by the long land route per Thrace and Macedonia, with divagations into the interior of the latter, in 124-125. This is generally rejected, as by P.-W. and Kornemann. If the " adventus " of the coins is after 119—as P.-W.—he may have visited Thrace from the Troad on his first journey, and Macedonia viâ Tempe from Greece. P.-W.'s hypothesis of a long tour here after the journey to Egypt—and the founding of " Turkish " Adrianople in 132—is not very attractive.

Northern Islands :

Lesbos : Mitylene—C.I.G. 2179 ; Eresos—C.I.G. 2179 c. ; *Thasos :* statue of H. at Athens—C.I.A. III, 476.

Samothrace : supposed initiation of H. at mysteries in 124—C.I.L. III, 7371—accepted by Dürr, P.-W., Kornemann, and Hirschfeld (Arch. Epigr. Mitthl. V, 1881, p. 224 sq.)—but challenged successfully by Mommsen, ap. C.I.L. III, p. 1329, who suggests Regibus Jove[et Junone] instead of Regibus Jove[et Augusto].

7. Hadrian in the East

Dürr (pp. 48-57), followed by Bury, presents the following itinerary for Hadrian's two journeys :

(*a*) 1st Journey, 123-125 A.D.

Africa—Crete—Halicarnassus—north by coast towns to Pergamum—inland by Lydia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, to Cappadocia (Melitene and Satala)—Pontus—Bithynia—Propontis—north Aegean Islands—Thrace—Macedonia—Epirus—Thessaly—Boeotia—Athens.

(*b*) 2nd Journey, A.D. 130 (for date's error see note above).

Athens—Lycia—Cilicia—excursion to Cappadocia—Syria—Antioch—Palmyra—Judaea—Egypt.

The *Vita* gives a succinct account of both as follows :

(*a*) 1st Journey (12, 7, 8 ; 13, 1).

Motus Maurorum conpressit . . . Bellum Parthorum per idem tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquio repressum est. Post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam navigavit et Eleusinia sacra . . . suscepit.

(*b*) 2nd Journey (13, 6—14, 4).

Cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera quae apud Athenienses coeperat dedicavit . . . eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit. Deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. [The tale of the Durbar follows—see p. 125.] Et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit . . . Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit ut Syriam a Phoenice separare voluerit . . . Moverunt ea tempestate et Judaei bellum . . . [ascent of Mt. Casius] . . . Peragrata Arabia Pelusium venit.

The " conloquium " of 12, 8, is a puzzle. It can hardly have been on the Euphrates because of the " post haec " immediately following. As Kornemann, p. 47, says, it " schwebt in der Luft ". Apart from this the *Vita* obviously leaves an extensive Eastern tour to Cappadocia

at least to the second journey. Asia of the first journey is certainly the Roman province. To this we must add the Bithynia-Pontus tour from the evidence given in my text.

The statement "per . . . insulas ad Achaiam navigavit" is very clear. It is in its face that Dürr frames his impossible itinerary on evidence for Thrace, Macedonia, northern Islands, etc., which is valueless. See preceding section 6.

There is no clear evidence that H. touched at Crete en route from west to east. That cited for Polyrrhenia (Palaeocastro)—C.I.L. III, 1, 2, p. 967; Hierapytna—Gaz. Arch. 1880, p. 52 sq.—statue of H. trampling on a barbarian, (?) a Moor; Lyttus—C.I.G. 2579, statue (?) A.D. 121-122—proves nothing whatever.

His concern with other towns, etc., may be cited by geographical arrangement.

(*a*) *Asia Provincia*

(1) Towns on or near the coast (from S. to N.):

Astypalaea (Cos): two letters of H. thanking for congratulations, on accession 118 (Bull. Corr. Hellen. VII, 1883, p. 405), and on coming to A. "from Caria," dated from "Laodicea on Lycus," i.e. Carian Laodicea, in 129 (Bull. Corr. Hellen. VII, 1883, p. 406).

Ceramus (Caria): statue and title—at Athens—C.I.A. III, 486.

Stratonicea = Hadrianopolis (E. of Pergamum in Caicus valley): ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἀδρ. and called by his name—Steph. Byz. sub voc. and Eckhel II, 591.

The interest lies in letters sent from Rome by H. to the town, two dated Feb. 11, 127, and a third dated March 1, 127. H. bestows on the ἀρτι γεινομένη πόλις certain revenues, τὰ τέλη τὰ ἐκ τῆς χωρας (which may previously have gone to the State) and the house of a local magnate, Tib. Socrates, which he may have given to H. This seems to suggest a visit of H. here on the occasion of his first journey. Cf. Bull. Corr. Hellen. XI, 1887, pp. 109-123—by G. Radet.

Miletus: Titles and coins—C.I.G. 2863, 2866, 2877; C.I.A. III, 480, etc.

Tralles: H.'s care for town—C.I.L. III, 444, and for corn supply to it from Egypt—C.I.G. 2927.

Magnesia on Maeander: statue—C.I.A. III, 16. Coin with names of H. and Sabina—Mionnet III, p. 148.

Ephesus: much evidence: dedications—C.I.A. III, 485; C.I.G. 2963-2966; festivals—C.I.G. 2810, 2987^b, 3208, 5913; C.I.L. III, 296, 297. Letters of H. to town: one written from Eleusis in 129 mentions an Ephesian Erastus "who voyaged twice with me, once when I crossed to Rhodes from Ephesus and once on the voyage to Ephesus from Eleusis". This shows H. at Ephesus on both journeys. Cf. Bull. Corr. Hellen. VII, 1883, p. 407; Curtius, ap. Hermes IV, 178-182; Dittenberger 1^2, p. 388—also for a letter of H. to Cornelius Priscus, governor of Asia, Sept. 27, 120, re its finances; and appointment of a

wealthy local "chief priest of Asia" as financial λογιστής—C.I.G. 2987*b*. Cf. also Philostratus, Vit. Soph. I, 25, 2, p. 531. H. (?) instituted mysteries here (Curtius, Hermes IV, 228); second neocorate—C.I.G. 2965, etc.; poetical inscr. (very wooden) on statue of L. Catilius Severus here ascribed to H.—Kaibel, Epigr. 888*a*.

Samos: statues—Ross, Inscr. Graec. ined. II, 194, 195.

Metropolis near Colophon (Yeni-Keui): Titles—C.I.G. 3036.

Lebedos: coin, name Sabina—Mionnet III, p. 141.

Teos: building—Dürr, 37.

Clazomenae: titles—Dürr, 38.

Smyrna: dedication and titles—C.I.G. 3174; festivals—C.I.A. III, 127, 129; name Ἀδριανή—Eckhel II, 544; second neocorate—ib. II, 556; gifts and buildings and Polemon the sophist's influence with H.—Philostratus, Vit. Soph. I, 25, 2, p. 531. Cf. C.I.G. 3148.

Phocaea: statue and titles—Dürr, 41.

Aegae: titles—Dürr, 42.

Elaea: statue and titles—Dürr, 43.

Germe: dedication by Col. Jul. Aug. Felix Germe—C.I.L. III, 284.

Pergamum: titles—C.I.G. 3547; colossal statue—Conze, Ausgrab. zu Perg., p. 95; letter of H. to ephebi—Curtius, Hermes VII, 37-39, dated Nov. 12, 117 = thanks for congratulations on accession; cf. Bull. Corr. Hellen. XI, 1887, p. 108.

(2) Inland towns:

In *Lydia:* Nacrasa: statue—C.I.G. 3522; Thyateira: "Adrianeum"—C.I.G. 3491; gifts—C.I.A. III, 12, 13; Sardis: festival—C.I.G. 3455, (?) H.; Attouda: festival—Lebas—Waddington, 743.

In *Phrygia:* Traianopolis: statue and titles—C.I.G. 3865*b*; dedic. of altar, A.D. 131—Dürr, 53. Synnada: festival—Mionnet IV, p. 367; Melissa—Athenaeus XIII, 574 F, see above, p. 87; Philomelium: Ἀδριανή—Eckhel III, 170; Hadrianopolis and Hadrianotherae (Mysia): see text, p. 85; Aezani: dedic. to H. and Sabina—C.I.G. 3841, 3841*b*.

Coins of "adventus" to Asia and Phrygia, "restitutor," etc., in plenty.

(*b*) *Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia*

Antioch (P.): gifts and decrees of thanks, A.D. 132—C.I.L. III, 6102, add. p. 985.

Iconium: "Colonia Aelia Hadriana"—Marquardt, Fr. trans. II, p. 647, note. "Claudia"—C.I.G. 3991.

Isaura: triumphal arch—C.I.G. 4382; dedic. C.I.G. 4383.

Cappadocia: coins with "exercitus Cappadocicus"—Cohen, 553; Eckhel VI, 493; otherwise no evidence other than the *Vita*.

(*c*) *Pontus and Bithynia*

Trapezus: Arrian, Periplus 1, 1: see text, p. 78.

Towns in or near Lycus valley: Nicopolis and Neocaesarea both

called Ἀδριανή—C.I.G. 4189, Eckhel II, 355; Amaseia: Ἀδριανή—Eckhel II, 344; Amisus; coinage—Eckhel II, 348. Sebastopolis: dedic. of bridge to H. and Verus, A.D. 137—C.I.A. III, 483.

In Bithynia: Bithynion: name Ἀδριανή—Eckhel II, 408; Hadrianopolis (Boli): Hierokles 695; C.I.G. 3802-3804; Prusias, ap. Hypium: two tribes named after H. and Sabina—Lebas—W. 1176, 1177; Nicomedia: see text, p. 85; name Ἀδριανή—C.I.G. 1720; Nicaea: see text, p. 85; arch at E. gate dedic. to H.—C.I.G. 3745; Prusa (or Cius): name Ἀδριανή—Eckhel II, 437; cultus of H. and statue erected by "his priest," M. Ulpius Lupus—C.I.G. 3725; Apamea: a balineum Hadrianum dedic. in Latin to Numen Domus Augustorum, H., Sabina, and S.P.Q.R. by the town, dated 129—C.I.L. III, supplem. 6992; "Hadrianoi" on spur Olympus near Rhyndacus—Philostr. Vit. S. 581.

Coins of Bithynia with "adventus," "restitutor": Cohen 26-27, 1238-1246.

(*d*) *Propontis, Hellespont, Troad, etc.*

Cyzicus: the great temple—see text, p. 86; festival Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια—C.I.G. 3665, 3675; name Ἀδριανή and neocorate—C.I.G. 3665; Eckhel II, 454; statue and inscr.—C.I.A. III, 477.

Parium: Col. Gemella Julia Parium Hadriana—C.I.L. III, 374.

Abydos: statue of H. at Athens—C.I.A. III, 472.

Sestos: ditto—C.I.A. III, 484.

Coela: Municipium Aelium Coela—Eckhel II, 50.

Callipolis: statue, dated 124—C.I.G. 2013.

Perinthus: dedic. dated 126—C.I.G. 2020; and to H. and Sabina—C.I.G. 2021.

Ilium: visit to Ajax' grave—Philostr. Heroic, p. 288.

Alexandria Troas: road-building 124—C.I.L. III, 466—a milestone.

(*e*) *Rhodes, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, etc.*

Rhodes: John Malalas (p. 279) says H. re-erected the colossus thrown down 312 years before. Chron. Pasch. (p. 476) says it was overthrown first in A.D. 130. The usual date for its upsetting is B.C. 224. There is no doubt H. was at Rhodes. See "Ephesus," supra.

Cyprus: inscr. to H. by τὸ κοινόν—at Athens—C.I.A. III, 478.

Laodicea on Lycus (reached from Ephesus up Maeander valley): see Astypalaea.

Cibyra: statue—C.I.G. 4380; gifts—C.I.G. 5382.

Myra: granary (200 ft. long × 20 high) with Latin inscr.—C.I.L. III, 232.

Phaselis: inscr. on H's "ἐπίβασις"—adventus; also by neighbouring towns of Acalissus and Corydalla, dated 131—C.I.G. 4334-4337, add. p. 1157.

Cilicia : " adventus " coins—Eckhel VI, 494 ; Cohen 29 sq.
Attalia : statue—Dürr 129, 130.
Of the towns along the coast road to Antioch, Anemurion and Pompeiopolis dedicate statues of H. at Athens—C.I.A. III, 475, 482 ; Corycus on the spot—C.I.G. 4433 ; Diocaesarea near Corycus takes the name Ἁδριανή, as do Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia, and Aegeae—Eckhel, III, 54, 71, 48, 61, 38 resp. ; Zephyrium near Pompeiopolis is nicknamed Hadrianopolis—Sallet, Numism. Zeitschr. III, 343.

8. Conclusions

Dürr's collection of evidence is invaluable, although nine-tenths of it is most inconclusive and his use of it is unjustified. It may, of course, be remembered that evidence which does *not* prove an Imperial visit does not prove the impossibility of such. It is just not " ad rem."

From the whole literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence put together certain clear facts and dates do emerge :

Hadrian visited Ephesus twice, i.e. on both journeys to the east.
On his first journey he sailed from Ephesus to Rhodes.
On his third journey he sailed from Eleusis to Ephesus.
On his first journey he was at Stratonicaea near Pergamum and in the Troad.
His visits to Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Nicaea, are connected with the earthquake of 123.
He arrived at Athens from Asia per " insulas " in the autumn of 125.
He certainly was at Trapezus, and there seem traces of him along the Trapezus-Nicomedia highways.
He was in Rome on Feb. 11, 127.
He was at Lambaesis on July 1, 128.
He went from Africa to Rome and then " at once " left for Greece.
He was at Astypalaea in Cos " from Caria " and also at Laodicea on Lycus in 129. There are clear traces of him along the southern highway from Myra to Antioch.
On his third journey he held a Durbar somewhere in Cappadocia, at Samosata (?)
He was at Antioch on June 23, almost certainly in 129 and not in 130.
He and Sabina were at Egyptian Thebes in Nov., 130.

The following Imperial tours suggested by Dürr are to be rejected :

From Upper Germany to Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia on the first journey.
From Mauretania to Africa and Libya on the same.
From Asia to Greece viâ Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus on the same.
To the Euphrates and Melitene on the same.
From Africa to Mauretania on the second journey.

Further the extensive " Danube tours " ascribed to him by Dürr in 117-118 (see App. B) and by P.-W. in 132 are similarly most improbable.

The Itinerary and Chronology of the three Journeys therefore work out as follows :

1st Journey :

120 or 121 : Rome-Gaul—Germany—Britain—S. Gaul.
(If he starts in 120 the winters are spent (1) in Germany, (2) in S. Gaul.)

122 : Gaul—Spain—Mauretania—Spain.
Winter spent at Tarraco.

123 : Spain—Ephesus : excursions to coast towns.
Winter spent at Ephesus.

124 : Pontic Tour to Trapezus and back ; Troad and Propontis and Hellespont. (?) Thrace as far as Adrianople.
(Some of latter visits (?) belong to 123.)
Winter (?) at Ephesus or Pergamum.

125 : Excursion to Rhodes from Ephesus ; to Athens "per insulas"—(?) direct from Rhodes. Arrives at Athens in the autumn.
Winter at Athens.

126 : Tour in Greece ; in autumn by Sicily to Rome, arriving late in the year.

127 : In Rome.

2nd Journey :

128 : Rome to Africa and back ; in autumn to Athens.
Winter at Athens.

3rd Journey :

129 : Eleusis to Ephesus ; excursion by Carian coast to Cos and back ; by Tralles, Laodicea, Cibyra to Myra and thence by Cilician coast route to Tarsus ; divergence north for Durbar in Cappadocia ; arrives at Antioch in June ; visit to Palmyra ; back to Syria.
Winter at Antioch.

130 : From Syria viâ Judaea to Egypt : journey up the Nile to Upper Egypt.
Winter at Alexandria.

131 : Return, probably direct, to Rome.

In this scheme, which I have followed in the text, 129 is a crowded year, but not impossibly so. It can be relieved by placing a later arrival in Syria from Cappadocia, and shifting the Arabian tour to the spring of 129—whence Hadrian returns to Antioch in June, and then at once journeys by Judaea to Egypt. But this seems not to leave comfortable time for the arrival at Egyptian Thebes in November, and I therefore prefer the former scheme.

APPENDIX D

HADRIAN'S TITLES

CONSUL : I (Suff.), June 22, 108 ; II, 118 ; III, Jan. 1-April 30, 119.

Trib. Pot. : The numbered series of Hadrian's "Tribunicia Potestas" is the usual method of dating the years of his reign. He was Trib. Pot. for the first time on Aug. 11, 117—his "Dies Imperii" ; Trib. Pot. II. on either Dec. 10, 117, or Jan. 1, 118 [Dec. acc. to Cagnat, Cours d'epig. Lat., p. 184 ; Jan. preferred by Mommsen and Radet—Bull. Corr. Hellen. XI, p. 113]—and so a regular annual renewal. His last Trib. Pot. is thus XXII on Jan. 1, 138, or Dec. 10, 137.

Pater Patriae : Not taken on his accession (*Vita* 6, 4). It is found in inscriptions of 118 (Sarmizegetusa—C.I.L. III, 1445 ; Burnum—C.I.L. III, 2828) ; of 120 (milestone near Leicester—C.I.L. VII, 1169) ; and 125 (Siscia—C.I.L. III, 3968*a*). But these may be unofficial. Dürr and P.-W. think its official assumption was deferred to April 21, 128, which they think was the date of the consecration of the Temple of Venus and Rome. But this last event is more probably to be dated April 21, 135. Laffranchi, p. 349, holds yet another view. The matter remains uncertain.

(It is similarly uncertain when Sabina took the title Augusta. Cf. Dürr, p. 32, note, and P.-W. I, p. 508.)

Proconsul : A title taken whenever Hadrian is absent from Italy. (Cf. Mommsen, St. R. II^3, 778, 1, and P.-W.), e.g. C.I.L. VI, 1233. (A.D. 121) ; II, 1339 (Saepo in Baetica 123) ; III, 5733, 5744 (milestones on the Celeia-Poetovio road, 132 : the one argument for P.-W.'s suggestion of a Danube tour in this year). But C.I.L. II, 4841, a milestone on the Bracara-Asturica road in Tarraconensis, of date 134, does not suit the rule unless with a somewhat unlikely thought of the Jewish war. This same stone calls Hadrian Cos. IIII—a manifest blunder.

Imperator : Taken as suffix for the second time on the occasion of the ending of the Jewish war. It is of course an invariable prefix.

Censor : Certainly never, in spite of the (worthless) Apuleius, Apol. II.

Hadrian's full (unabbreviated) title as Emperor was :

Imperator Caesar divi Traiani Parthici filius divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Augustus.

This is often shortened to

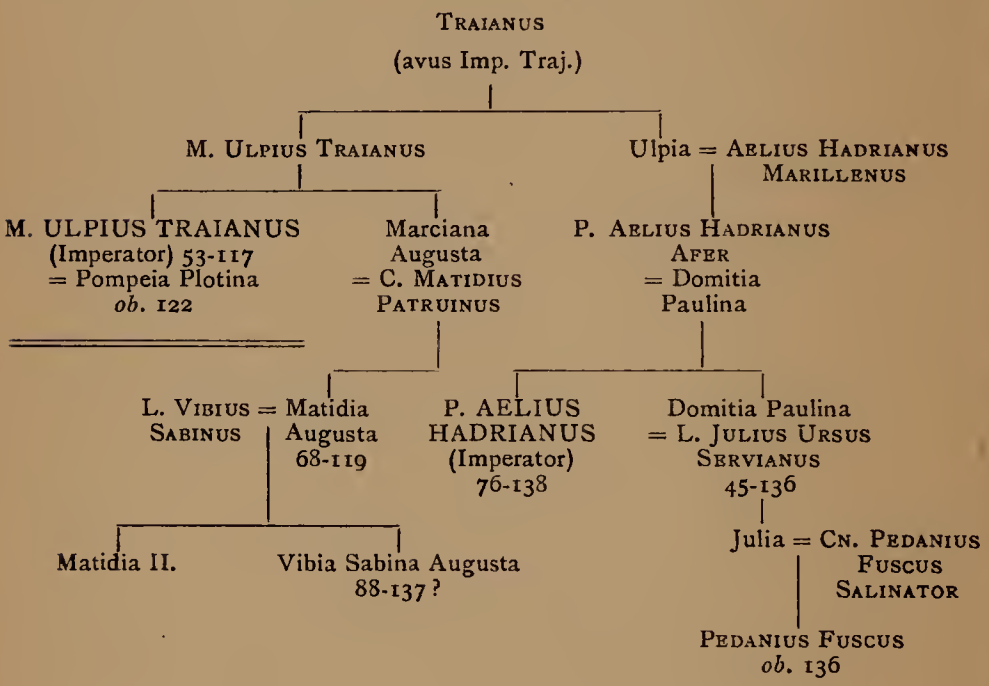
Imp. Caes. Traianus Hadrianus Augustus.

Cognomina sometimes added were Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus; but these were soon discontinued.

Special complimentary titles, Olympius, Panhellenios, Zeus, Pythius, Panionius, etc., figure very frequently in Greek inscriptions.

(Cf. P.-W. throughout.)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE


Traianus
(avus Imp. Traj.)
M. Ulpius Traianus
Ulpia = Aelius Hadrianus Marillenus
M. ULPIUS TRAIANUS (Imperator) 53-117 = Pompeia Plotina ob. 122
Marciana Augusta = C. Matidius Patruinus
P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer = Domitia Paulina
L. Vibius Sabinus = Matidia Augusta 68-119
P. AELIUS HADRIANUS (Imperator) 76-138
Domitia Paulina = L. Julius Ursus Servianus 45-136
Julia = Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator
Matidia II.
Vibia Sabina Augusta 88-137?
Pedanius Fuscus ob. 136

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THE ROMAN EMPIRE

in 180 A.D.

NOTE.—*This shows the Antonine or*

Reference.
The Roman Empire and its Provinces shown bounded by a thick line thus:-
Names of Provinces in thick letters thus:- BRITANNIA
VENEDAE
SARMATIA
MARE CASPIUM
SCYTHAE
Carpi
Carpathus Mons
Borysthenes, Danaprис F.
Tyras F.
Tanais F.
Aorsi inferiores
Aorsi superiores
Maeotis Palus
Bosphorus Cimmerius
Hypanis F.
Rha F.
Udon F.
Alontas F.
Caucasus Mons
Colegae
Iberia
Cyrus F.
Colchis
Phasis
Garene
Araxes F.
Armenia
Naxuana
Armenia Major
Euphrates F.
Tigris F.
Gordiaea
Sophene
Nisibis
Mygdonia
Mesopotamia
Osrhoene
Commagene
Samosata
Zeugma
Cyrrhus
Hierapolis
Circesium
Thapsacus
Berosa
Chalcis
Apamea
Epiphania
Emesa
Laodicea
Palmyra
Heliopolis
Damascus
Arabia Deserta
Philippopolis
Bostra
Petra
Arabia Petraea
Nabataei
Arabia Felix
Asiana
Onne
Leuce Come
Sinus Arabicus
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Heliopolis
Memphis
Heracleopolis
Arsinoe Cleopatris
Alexandria
Darris
Cynopolis
Hermupolis
Antinopolis
Lycopolis
Panopolis
Philoteras
Myoshormus
Albus portus
Libya Marmarica
Libya Inferior
Catabathmus Minor
Catabathmus Major
Cyrenaica et Creta
Syrtis Major
Ammonium
Augila
Nasamones
Psylli
Hippu acra
Charax
Caminus
Amastoris
Arsinoe Tauchira
Euhesperides Berenice
Ptolemais
Cyrena
Barca
Apollonia
Dorsale Chersoneus
Platea I.
Carthalum
Mercurii porg
Tyndarii scopulus
Paraetonium
Naucratis
Alexandria
Darris
Heliopolis
Memphis
Heracleopolis
Cynopolis
Hermupolis
Antinopolis
Lycopolis
Panopolis
Philoteras
Myoshormus
Albus portus
Leuce Come
Onne
Asiana
Arsinoe Cleopatris
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Petra
Philippopolis
Bostra
Philadelphia
Heliopolis
Damascus
Palmyra
Laodicea
Epiphania
Emesa
Apamea
Berosa
Chalcis
Hierapolis
Circesium
Thapsacus
Zeugma
Cyrrhus
Samosata
Commagene
Nisibis
Mygdonia
Osrhoene
Mesopotamia
Sophene
Gordiaea
Tigranocerta
Armenia Major
Armenia Minor
Naxuana
Araxes F.
Euphrates F.
Tigris F.
Pontus Polemoniacus
Polemonium
Cerasus
Trapezus
Armene
Pharnacia
Amisus
Sebaste
Comana
Amasia
Gangra
Cappadocia
Bithynia et Pontus
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Heraclea
Sangarius F.
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Prusa
Apamea
Dascylium
Cius
Hellespontus
Propontis
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Thracium Bosporus
Pontus Euxinus
Pontus Inferior
Odessus
Mesembria
Apollonia
Tomi
Callatis
Istropolis
Axiopolis
Troesmis
Buridava
Acidava
Sarmizegethusa
Singidunum
Viminacium
Dorticum
Bononia
Ratiaria
Naissus
Scupi
Lissus
Dyrrachium
Apulum
Porolissensis
Dacia
Dacia Superior
Dacia Inferior
Moesia Superior
Moesia Inferior
Moesia
Thracia
Dardania
Ulpiana
Pautalia
Sardica
Ad Novas
Oescus
Durostorum
Marcianopolis
Nicopolis ad Istrum
Pons Trajani
Ister F.
Danubius F.
Haemus M.
Hebrus F.
Rhodope M.
Strymon F.
Strymonius F.
Axius F.
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Macedonia Prima
Macedonia Secunda
Thessalonica
Edessa
Berosa
Lychnidus
Lemnos
Thasos
Abdera
Maronea
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Cyzicus
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Dorylaium

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